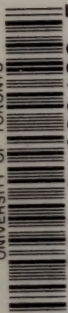


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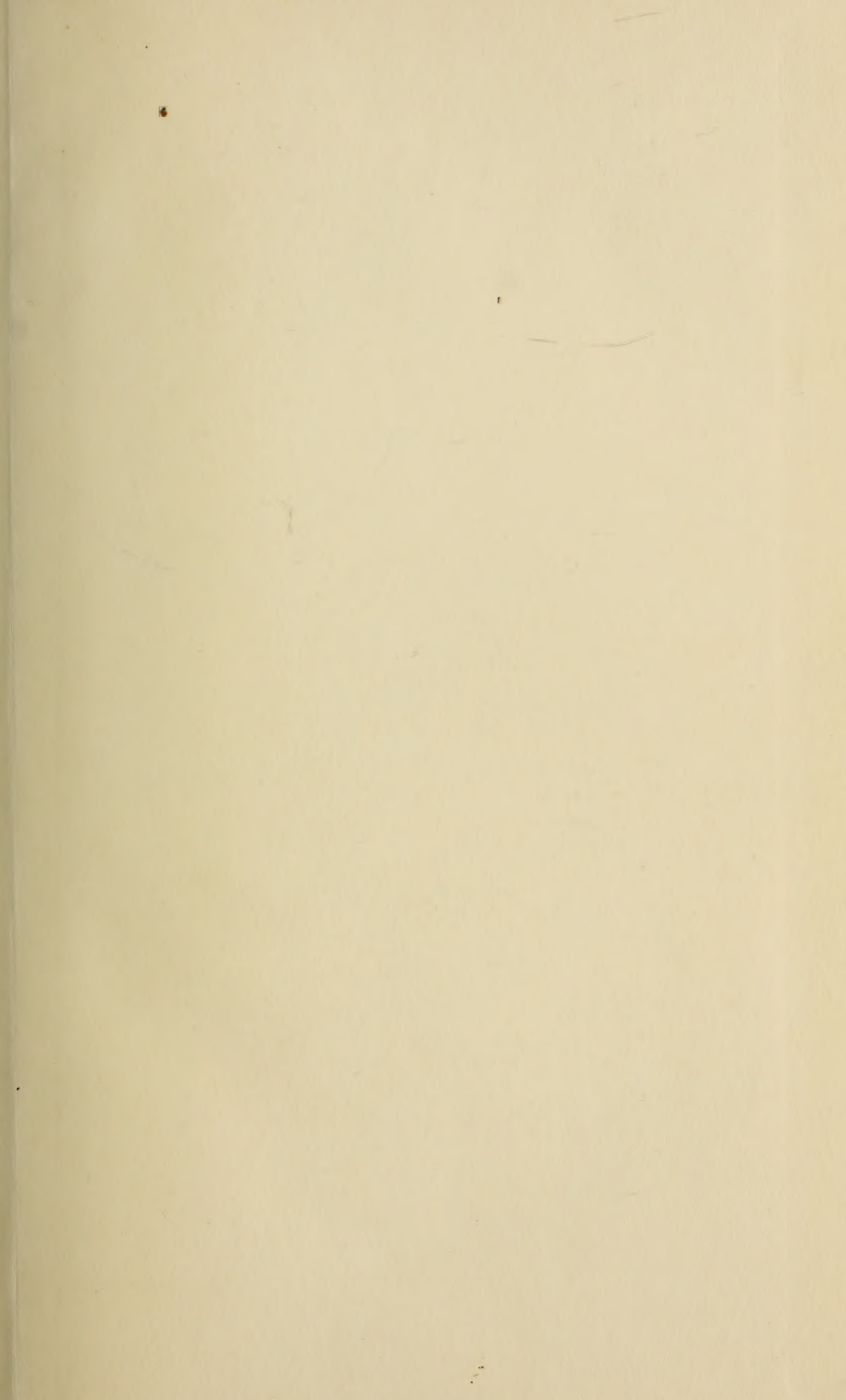



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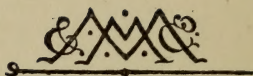
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Revolutionary Ireland and its
Settlement



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Revolutionary Ireland

and

Its Settlement

BY

THE REV. ROBERT H. MURRAY, Litt.D.

LECTURER IN HISTORY AT ALEXANDRA COLLEGE, DUBLIN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

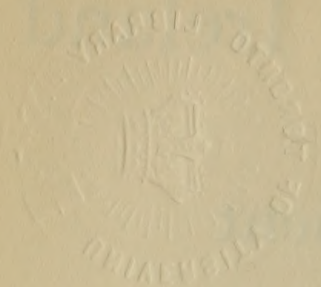
THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., C.V.O.

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AND

M. M. M.

PREFACE

MUCH has been written upon the Revolution of 1688 and its bearing upon Irish history. When regarded as merely ancillary to English history, affairs in Ireland tend to have their real significance obscured or even misconceived, for a purely incidental consideration of the complex circumstances of Ireland in the latter half of the seventeenth century must inevitably fail to reveal all the hidden forces then at work. An attempt to supplement and qualify the results of historical research conducted from the standpoint of English history would therefore seem to be justifiable. By throwing light on the field of inquiry from another point of view we may perhaps aid in dispelling some of the shadows left by the workers who, turning the searchlight of investigation from an English centre of interest, have thrown but slanting beams upon the problems of Ireland. On the other hand, I am not unmindful of the special contributions—many of them of great value and interest, *e.g.* Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart*—which have been made to the history of Ireland during the troubled quarter of a century (1688-1714) with which I deal. Yet there appears to be room for a book of moderate dimensions which, by telling the story of Revolutionary Ireland and its settlement as a whole, in the light of all the manuscript and other evidence now available, will avoid the tendency, on the one hand, to

episodical treatment, on the other to parochialism of outlook. The first, by restricting the range of inquiry, serves to furnish the raw material of history rather than a contribution to history regarded as a science. The second, precluding a deep and wide survey, accepts surface eddies as adequate causes of the drifting of the craft upon the stormy sea of Irish history, and ignores, or discerns but imperfectly, the undercurrents whose reality and persistence often provide the only clue to seeming aberrations of policy.

I have therefore tried to place events in their proper focus, to regard them not as isolated fragments capable only of description, and I have tried to emphasise the fact that the history of Ireland during this period is closely bound up with the tissue of European policy, and in particular with that of France. Unless the inner meaning of French statecraft be penetrated, the history of Ireland at the time of the Revolution must present a succession of insoluble riddles. Indeed, so far-reaching were the effects, direct and indirect, of the diplomacy of Louis XIV. upon the course of events in Ireland that we feel their influence even in 1910. My examination of the character of the fact we know as the Irish Revolution led me to conclude that the usual account was altogether inadequate, for it did not attach importance to the designs of Louis XIV. upon Spain. These designs induced the French monarch to send James II. to Dublin, for he hoped that the war in Ireland would last ten years. When William was thus employed Louis was left free to pursue his schemes of aggrandisement. Though the plan broke down by the signing of the Treaty of Limerick, yet the efforts of French diplomatists were not exhausted, for throughout the rest of the period Louis used Ireland as a means of attacking England in the rear. My explanation thus asks the reader to go beyond the limits of the revo-

lutionary movement as an event in Irish history, and to connect it with the larger whole of which it is only a part, viz. the European movement of the time, in which one force is headed by Louis, while another is represented by William. From this point of view the Irish Revolution no longer appears as a constitutional change taking place in a corner of Europe, caused by a petty quarrel between a Stuart and his Parliament, but as an important episode in a great drama, of which the chief actors are the greatest sovereign, and the greatest politician and patriot of his time. By this explanation, in which Dr. J. B. Bury in his generous letter (p. xxiii) concurs, I trust our knowledge is not only made coherent ; perhaps it has also been made fuller. The facts reflect more of the history of the world and have, I hope, thus been expanded and deepened. Every new fact we discover about a thing is a step in the direction of its explanation, for this fact, on closer inspection, is seen to contain a relation to other things, and thus to force us beyond the limits of the part to the whole to which it belongs, and which alone can make it more completely intelligible to us.

Besides consulting modern writers, I have had constant recourse to original authorities, both published and unpublished. In Dublin I used the seven folio volumes relating to the siege of Derry and the immense collection of Haliday pamphlets preserved in the Royal Irish Academy ; the correspondence of George Clarke, Secretary of War (1690-1694), in thirteen volumes, and the correspondence of Archbishop King (1696-1727) in seventeen volumes preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. The Haliday collection did not repay me for the time I spent in the perusal of the pamphlets, though doubtless I gained a clearer perception of the feelings of the time. Clarke preserved all the letters sent to him during the course of the war, and these I consulted throughout. The letters of

Douglas and Ginkell are particularly difficult to read, and at times I have been uncertain of the meaning of these writers, especially of Ginkell. For the latter part of the period the King correspondence is invaluable. Here and there occur breaks in the archbishop's letters, notably in the years 1699, 1700, 1703, 1709, and 1710. The volumes containing the letters of these years are damp-stained, and it is practically impossible to read them. The important Southwell correspondence is divided between Trinity College, Dublin, the Record Office, Dublin, and the British Museum. These papers I read five times, and with each reading derived new information. The State Papers in the Record Office, London, are of the highest importance. In the Bodleian Library I consulted the Nairne Papers (1689-1701), and in Paris used material preserved in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères. Further details are given in the bibliography, but I have not hesitated to quote freely from contemporary documents—especially if generally inaccessible—when it appeared that the impress of reality might thus be more effectively stamped on my analysis of the motives of the men of that day.

Another matter, perhaps, calls for comment. This volume deals with a time when Ireland was divided into hostile camps, following generally the lines of ecclesiastical cleavage. Time has happily softened some of the animosities of bygone days, without diminishing the sincere attachment of individuals to their faith. With religious creeds as such I have not had to deal, and, when it has been necessary to touch upon the purely political aspects of the religious strife, have endeavoured to do so as dispassionately as possible. Impartiality, which accepts its proper burden of responsibility, can only be maintained by unremitting vigilance. I can only say that I have aimed at an ideal which is admittedly difficult of attain-

ment. That form of impartiality, however, which is content to register facts, but declines under any circumstances to interpret them, may avoid certain pitfalls, but deprives history of any serious claim to value. I trust that my attempts to hold the balance true, even if they fail to command the assent of the reader, will not be regarded as showing a lack either of candour or of generous feeling.

My debt to workers in the field of history is heavy. Dr. Mahaffy, who wrote the accompanying introduction, has done me the very great service of reading all my proof-sheets, and making many valuable criticisms and suggestions. The military chapters owe much to Colonel Gough, V.C., Colonel Wynyard, R.A., Colonel Buckland, R.E., and Major B. Smyth. Doctors Moritz J. Bonn and W. R. Scott gave me much valuable counsel in my account of the Mercantile System. To one who stood in the foremost rank of Irish historians, the late Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, I owe much, for in the preliminary work done for this volume he gave me help and information most lavishly. It has been a sad thought to me in writing the following pages that they will not be read by a friend who took such a deep interest in the preparation for them. I am also indebted to Mr. R. Dunlop of Vienna : at all times he has been willing to aid me in my many difficulties. My sister assisted me with important advice and criticism, and my manuscript derived no little benefit from her wide outlook and her accurate knowledge. Lastly, my wife has rendered me invaluable assistance by her judgment and sympathy in arranging the material and revising it for the press.

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

11 HARCOURT TERRACE,
DUBLIN.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION. By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, D.D., C.V.O. .	xv
LETTER from J. B. Bury, Litt.D., Regius Professor of History at Cambridge	xxiii

CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN ASPECT OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND .	i
--	---

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS FOR THE REVOLUTION	49
---	----

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLE IN THE NORTH	91
-------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV

THE PARLIAMENT AND THE WAR	111
--------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER V

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH-WEST	163
-------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST STAND	208
--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VII

	PAGE
THE SITUATION IN FRANCE AND IRELAND ON THE EVE OF THE PENAL LAWS	252

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE PENAL LAWS	282
---	-----

CHAPTER IX

PARLIAMENT AND THE PENAL CODE	333
---	-----

CHAPTER X

THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM IN IRELAND	382
BIBLIOGRAPHY	421
INDEX	439

MAPS

Ireland	92
Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690. This plan is drawn from the Ordnance Map and is filled in from various maps in the British Museum and Whitehall, notably those of Richard- son, an eye-witness, and of Walter Harris	154
Siege of Athlone, 1691. Story, Brit. Mus. MSS. Maps, plans of Athlone LV. 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, and comprising a lettered plan of the siege drawn to scale by W. Eyres, 1691. Plans of Athlone $\frac{LV}{27}$ and one by Capt. T. Phillips, 1691. $\frac{LV}{27}$ is done just prior to the siege	196
Battle of Aughrim, July 12, 1691	212
Sieges of Limerick, 1690-91	170, 222
(The Walton collection of maps in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, is of great importance and aided me in no little degree.)	

INTRODUCTION

To write a laborious and impartial treatise on Irish history is not a promising literary venture. The present population of Ireland is not a people that reads anything beyond the daily gossip of the newspapers or the poor stuff of the current novel. If such people are to be induced to buy and read historical books, they must be violent and exciting books, such as tirades upon the misconduct of England, panegyrics of Ireland, and the like. Of these quasi-political histories there are two or three issuing every year from our press. If we turn to the English public, the reasons for neglect are very different, and consist mainly in the indifference and even dislike that the average Englishman feels for Ireland and Irish affairs. This feeling, which is clearest in the lower and middle classes, is handed down from the time when the "Irish enemy" was regarded as a dangerous savage, who cost England millions of money and thousands of men to keep under control, and even so was never pacified. The relics of this feeling may be felt any day by any observant Irish visitor to England. The tactless compliments which he and oftener she hear from those that find them civil in manners and education—"I had no idea you were Irish"—expresses the latent contempt for this particular kind of foreigner, so prominent in Anglo-Saxon middle classes.

And yet any thoughtful Englishman must reflect that as Ireland has long been, so it now is, an important factor in the history of the Empire, and that a competent

knowledge of Irish history is of the last importance to those that pretend to guide the policy of England. Over and over again great British quarrels have been transferred to Ireland and even fought out there. Like Sicily beside Italy, it has a thousand attractions for its greater neighbour, as well as a thousand unsolved problems, and a thousand disappointments.

At no time was the influence of Ireland in British, nay, even in European, politics so manifest as in the period covered by the present work. The conflict between William III. and James II. in Ireland was no mere local quarrel, but a world-wide issue, fought out by soldiers of many nationalities, in which Irish and English were hardly more numerous or important than their respective allies. But even this is not the whole truth. It was a conflict between liberty and despotism, between Protestantism and Popery, nay, even between Gallicanism and Vaticanism, as Dr. Murray amply shows. Hence the siege of Derry and the battle of the Boyne have attained a celebrity out of all proportion to the number of the combatants engaged. It has often been so before and since. From Marathon to Valmy the battles of small armies have sometimes entailed enormous consequences. Among the combatants at Oldbridge the Huguenots of Ireland and the Enniskilleners charged their Roman Catholic countrymen in the Jacobite ranks with far more fury than if the latter had been Spaniards or Italians; for here the bitterness of creed was added to the burning sense of private wrong. The French had the better reasons, for they had been driven from their country by infamous legislation and shocking persecution. The Inniskillings had indeed also suffered from treachery and cruelty during the earlier phases of the war, but after all they were themselves invaders of no long standing, who had taken the land of the nation meted out to them, and lived a dominant majority among those who had been ousted with no better right than that of the stronger. In this latter case, however, the Protestants had not yet come to consider their

Roman Catholic neighbours as fellow-countrymen, and this brings me to say a word on the interesting question often touched in the following pages, and suggested indeed by every study of Irish history: Is the deep-seated antagonism of Ireland to England one of race, or one of religion, or are the two causes inextricably interwoven? This last can hardly be said of the days before Elizabeth. Even under the confiscations of Henry VIII. there was no trenchant division of the creeds. Many ecclesiastics oscillated from the one to the other, and many Roman Catholic laymen did not scruple to be endowed with the lands of the rifled monasteries. Up to that time, therefore, the ill-feeling between English and Irish had been clearly one of race—on one side the contempt of a more civilised race for dirty savages, who had no notion of chivalry; on the other the hatred of those who were despoiled and oppressed as the response to this contempt. With the reign of Elizabeth, and her insisting on Protestantism, the question assumed a new form. The policy of Philip II. was essentially “most Catholic”; the attempts to force the natives to conform to an Anglican service which they did not understand were thwarted, when the Spanish arms failed, by the remarkable spiritual campaign of the Jesuits, which I have described in my *Epoch of Irish History*; and so the contrast of creed was grafted on to the contrast of race. Hugh O'Neill, in his proposed conditions of peace with the Queen, set forth prominently the religious question—freedom of worship and a Roman Catholic University for the education of the Irish youth. With James I., and indeed with Elizabeth's abortive plantation of Munster, 1598, the agrarian question rose into supreme importance, and so we have a triple of hatreds burnt into the hearts of the Irish against those who were alien in race and language and unsympathetic in manners, who were persecutors of their creed and its priests, and lastly who were plundering them of the lands of their ancestors.

These were the broad contrasts which were made complex and confused by the existence of an old race of

intermediate people, the Anglo-Irish settlers, who had in many cases adopted the Irish language and preserved the faith of their pre-Reformation ancestors, and who by long intimacy and intermarriage with the natives had become trusted leaders of the Irish, for they preserved many of the higher qualities and much of the energy of their earlier race, so that the pure Irish have always been led by these splendid mongrels. The varying attitude of the English towards them, sometimes regarding them as Irish natives, sometimes as English settlers, is well brought out in many passages of the work before us.

I will not delay the reader from his pleasure with any longer discussion of this intricate problem, but will turn to a passage in which Dr. Murray has perhaps been a little too much influenced by his Protestant authorities. I mean the conduct of King James's notorious Parliament which sat for seventy-two days in 1689. The Acts of this Assembly have been thrust out of the series of statutes passed by the Parliaments of Ireland as being those of an assembly of rebels. Yet not only in fact, but in theory, it was a lawful Parliament assembled by a lawful King. His deposition, or rather the solemn declaration of the English Parliament that William and Mary had replaced him, was a mere act of insurrection or of war. No legitimate sovereign could be legitimately got rid of even by his own act of abdication. James was therefore perfectly justified in regarding his Parliament in Dublin as the only true assembly, and all those that opposed it as rebels who had taken arms against their lawful sovereign. The Acts of James's Irish Parliament were therefore as legal in their inception as theory could make them. The majority of these Acts was, moreover, the work of sensible and enlightened men. But they are forgotten or suppressed by those who parade two of them as monuments of violence and tyranny—the cancelling of Charles II.'s Act of Settlement, and the notorious Act of Attainder of Protestants. I cannot feel that the first was more than an act of retributive justice from the native and Roman Catholic point of view. The Cromwellian Settlement, to go no further back, was

confessedly based on the principle that to the conqueror belonged all the property of the conquered. Among the conquered were, however, many who had been loyal subjects of the King whom Cromwell had dethroned. When Charles II. was restored, these owners whose estates had been confiscated claimed to be restored with the new King. On the other hand, the Cromwellian settlers were the backbone of the English interest in Ireland, and along with the older Ulster planters could not possibly be ignored. Many had lent the English Parliament money, and had been recouped in Irish land. Thus Charles II. found himself in the very condition that many a Greek city state had to face, when its exiles were brought back by force or compromise, and found new possessors, who had bought the exiles' estates and houses in the open market. Of course, therefore, the Act of Settlement satisfied but few of the claimants, and those who met with the most signal injustice were old Roman Catholic landlords who had taken no part in the violences of 1641, or in the subsequent struggle against Cromwell, and nevertheless were deprived of their estates. To reverse, therefore, the Act of Settlement, and do justice to this class, might quite fairly be regarded by any Roman Catholic Parliament as an act of tardy retributive justice. Very probably it would have been carried out, like its Protestant counterparts before and after, with much violence and hardness of heart, but the law itself was in theory, and in the face of a dangerous invasion of new adventurers from England and Holland, not in any way worse than many a Protestant Act.

It is by no means so easy to defend the Act of Attainder, which was nothing but a declaration of war under the guise of an Act of Parliament, not only charging with treason a great number of noblemen and gentlemen who had never declared themselves for William, but even not a few Roman Catholics whose lands some hungry neighbour coveted. Worse than all, this Act prevented the King's pardon after a very short interval of time, and gave no notice to the attainted of their outlawry. We

have to go back to Marius and Sylla in Roman history to find such a proscription. But the passers of this Act felt themselves in the midst of a bitter religious war forced upon them by a usurper, and thought any violence justified by the crisis. Yet the Protestant party need not boast that it was an unheard-of tyranny. Many acts of shocking violence may be laid to their account, and what shall we say to the position of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, who, when Ginkell returned from his victory at Limerick, and brought with him the draft of the treaty he had made with the vanquished, preached a sermon before the assembled magnates of the Government in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, wherein he argued that no faith should be kept with false Papists, the incurable enemies of his creed !

The present author has been, I think, more influenced than I am by the very able but utterly partisan statements of Archbishop King on *The State of the Protestants in Ireland* under James II. and his Viceroy. No one should read that book without reading as its counterpart Prendergast's equally violent *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*. For this amply explains the other. Violence and injustice beget one another, and lead to a hereditary vendetta. Even now the recoil from the Penal Laws is being felt ; the long-oppressed Roman Catholics are rising rapidly in power, wealth, and influence, and it will be strange indeed if this recovered influence does not lead to acts of injustice, and even to confiscation in some polite form, even though the days of massacre and armed rapine are over. Of the three great causes of contrast between Irish and English, that of race is growing feebler with closer intercourse and intermarriage ; that of the ownership of the land is being settled in favour of the Roman Catholic majority, and people commonly believe that the power of the clergy cannot but wane with the spread of secular education. I have been brought up to believe in this gradual pacification of the greatest conflict we have had in Ireland, and have watched for fifty years the effect of so-called modern enlightenment on the clergy and their flocks. I cannot but say

that the current expectations have been disappointed. The clergy, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, though less violent perhaps in their utterances, are growing narrower and more bigoted in their opinions. Maynooth is a far narrower school for the priest than St. Omer or Douay. The Protestant clergy are so much controlled by the ignorant and bigoted laity in their Disestablished Church where only one type of Protestant theology is tolerated. I see no signs of any amelioration till the Roman Catholic priest is stripped of his miraculous powers, and the Protestant laity are far better educated.

Such are the long echoes of the conflict told us in the following volume. There is yet one point about the Acts of King James which is worth consideration. It is assumed by all the Protestant authorities that the Attainder was really meant, and that those who disregarded it would have suffered imprisonment or death. The history of the Penal Laws, which were the counter-blast, makes it possible to question this. No doubt James II. had a taste for cruelty which was the most abominable feature in his character, and hence was more likely to carry out his tyrannies. But William was a tolerant man and would not favour persecution, and it can be proved that in the succeeding reigns, when the whole Penal Code was the law of the land, it was not enforced, but that Roman Catholics, if quiet people, were allowed to live in comfort and security under English law. These things have escaped the historians, who assume that violences made legal in the moment of a great crisis are carried out in calmer days to the utmost of their barbarities. Both Prendergast and Lecky have made this mistake. It can be proved that the Irish Garden of Eden, where prosperity and comfort amazed travellers in the next century, was almost wholly Roman Catholic in population—I mean the baronies of Bargy and Forth in Wexford. But if these laws had been, or so far as they were, enforced, Dr. Murray has shown that they were but a mild and gentle reply, the echo of Louis XIV.'s legislation, without any counterpart to the hideous dragonnades he permitted. There was a crowd of Huguenots in

the army of William who had actually suffered from these horrors, and we can well imagine the effect of their testimony upon the English controllers of the new settlement in Ireland.

There is only one point to be mentioned on Louis's side. The Roman Catholic is justified by the heads of his Church in persecuting heretics. His crime is therefore less than that of the Protestant persecutor, who acts against his own principles, while the other acts according to them. But in the Roman Catholic bigot the cure is far more difficult, for until his Church changes its principles, he is without blame. The Protestant, on the other hand, can be shown the absurdity of punishing that private judgment which his creed permits and even encourages. Hence the Penal Laws in Ireland, as Dr. Murray shows us, were more political than religious, and intended to secure the State rather than to coerce the individual conscience.

All these odious consequences of warring creeds are, let us hope and pray, diminishing, and perhaps the day will yet dawn when they will come to be regarded the relics of barbarism. But that day is still far off, and there is still a melancholy amount of truth in a remark made to me by the late King Edward : "My main difficulty with Ireland," he said, "is that the majority of the people look upon the Pope, and not me, as their king."

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

DEAR DR. MURRAY,

I have read with much interest four chapters of your book on *Revolutionary Ireland*, and I shall look forward to reading the rest when it is published.

I congratulate you heartily on having accomplished what is, so far as I can judge, an important and admirable piece of work. Not having dived myself into the original sources which you have studied so carefully, I am unable to speak of that side of your researches. But the striking and original feature of your book is, I think, this : You have grasped the fact, and made it clear, that the course of events in Ireland cannot be understood or appreciated from the standpoint of politics in London or in Dublin ; that we have to go to Paris, and even to Vienna, to comprehend the full and inward significance of the whole episode. You have thus succeeded in surveying the series of Irish events from the hill, and not, like your predecessors, from the plain. In working at the fact that Ireland was enmeshed at that time in the net of international politics, and in tracing how the European schemes of Louis XIV. reacted on it, you have done a service not only to Irish but to European history ; and, in my opinion, even if you had not written so full a story of the revolutionary movement and its settlement, based on an extensive study of documents, you would have made a valuable contribution to history by simply developing what I may call your European thesis. Warm congratulations !—Yours sincerely,

J. B. BURY.



CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN ASPECT OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND

ON the morning of the 29th of April 1688, a great man lay a-dying. He had done much for his native province, and there was much more that he wanted to do. Friends and kinsfolk came near the bed of the sinking statesman, expecting perhaps to receive weighty counsel for the welfare of their own country. The resolute spirit was fast losing control of the frail body, and they could barely hear the last words, "London, Amsterdam."¹ The clear-sighted vision of the Great Elector saw past the boundaries of his beloved Brandenburg, and divined that its future hinged upon the issue of the life-long duel between Louis XIV. and William of Orange. His state was but a pawn on the international chess-board, and all depended on how the player might be forced to use it. What is true of Brandenburg when the reins of power were slipping from the grasp of Frederick William is true to a greater degree of Ireland in 1688. A statesman at this time, speculating upon the course of the history of Ireland, might whisper "Paris, London," for these two cities might perhaps be taken to represent the power of Louis XIV. and of William III. Each of these players on the international chess-

¹ Leopold von Orlich, *Friedrich Wilhelm der gr. Kurfürst*, Berlin, 1836, p. 207; Martin Philippon, *D. grosse Kurfürst Fr. W. von Brandenburg*, Band iii., Berlin, 1903; B. Erdmannsdörffer, *D. gr. Kurfürst*, Leipzig, 1879. Orlich notes that two days before his death the countersign he gave to the officer of his life-guards was Amsterdam, and the day before it was London. It is significant that the last words of the last state paper the Great Elector wrote the day before his death were "London, Amsterdam." Cf. Ranke, *History of England, principally in the Seventeenth Century*, iv. 409.

board regarded Ireland as a pawn in the game, and the thoughtful spectator must always remember that each played or attacked it from a European, not from an Irish, point of view. The fortunes of Ireland at this momentous epoch depended upon the attempt of the Grand Monarch to dominate Europe, and upon the counter-efforts of his rival to checkmate him. Here the custom of treating the history of Ireland apart from that of other nations has done much to obscure the course of the game. The player on his national side is plain to us all. The player on his cosmopolitan side is hidden from us. No doubt from the latter point of view it is difficult to understand the progress of the game, for the play seems puzzling and at times the moves are bewildering. Yet if the student does not try to see the larger motives in the mind of the player, he inevitably makes mistakes, and his limited view blinds him to the inner significance of the events. On him who surveys Irish history from the European standpoint the highest rewards are bestowed, for he finds clues to many a move of the piece which we may call Dublin.

The House of Stuart fell in 1649, was restored in 1660, and finally crashed to the ground in 1688. A historian can now write "finally," but to the men of the Revolution it was not at all clear that this time the fall was irremediable. For sixty years after the flight of James II. efforts were made to restore the exiled dynasty. The ill-planned expeditions to Ireland in 1689 and 1690, and the "Fifteen" and the "Forty-five" are specially notable. Yet a careful reading of the secret history of the time soon discloses other plans that seemed destined to succeed.

Discerning Dutchmen wrote near the time of the birth of William Henry, Prince of Orange and Count of Nassau: "All the world knows well enough how the French seek to become masters of all Europe, as is seen from Cassan's treatise . . . we have seen on their cannon the words *Ratio Ultima Regum*."¹ Louis might well be credited with saying, "*L'État, c'est moi*," for he reflected

¹ Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalia*, i. 243.

the spirit of the men over whom he ruled. He states his position clearly : " When Charlemagne by his victories had brought this dignity into our House, it meant the rule over France, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and most of Spain. . . . The Germans excluded the princes of our blood and immediately afterwards possessed them of this dignity, or rather substituted another in its place. . . . For in justice one can only regard them as the chiefs or Captains-General of a German republic."¹ To him, as to his people the frontier of the Rhine, the claims on the Spanish Netherlands, supremacy in Italy and Spain, were matters of vital moment, never to be lost sight of. The Thirty Years' War left the way open for France to make a bold bid for the mastery of Europe. Louis made three great attempts to wear the crown of the Holy Roman Emperor, for like Napoleon he claimed to be the successor of Charlemagne. His first candidature was when the Imperial throne fell vacant in 1658 when Leopold was elected. His second was in 1670 when he concluded a treaty with Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria, for his support in case the Emperor died. The other Electors did not desire so mighty an overlord, and a group of alliances was made on the 30th of August 1673, between the Emperor and the Republic of Holland, between the King of Spain and the Republic, and between all these Powers and the Duke of Lorraine.² " For the first time for 130 years the Empire stood united for its Emperor."³ When Bavaria failed him, Louis for his third attempt turned to Brandenburg, and tempted the Great Elector by the potent bribe of Pomerania. He too promised to use all his power to secure the election of Louis if the death of the Emperor happened before the king of the Romans was born. William was now developing his scheme for an alliance with England against France, and the French alliance with Brandenburg proved fatal to his success. " The Emperor hung back through mistrust of

¹ *Œuvres de Louis XIV*, i, 72-74.

² Koch and Schoell, *Histoire abrégée des traités de paix*.

³ Klopp, *Fall des Hauses Stuart*, i, 376.

England, and the great plan of the Prince of Orange of January 1680, by which he sought to lead his uncle of England along a better path, miscarried, principally through the opposition of Brandenburg.”¹ The notorious “Réunions” showed the unscrupulous nature of the French designs. This system of plunder and its necessary results connected the Continent with the Revolution of 1688.

The death of Philip IV. in 1665 provided a fresh channel for the ambition of Louis, the question of the succession to Spain thus becoming of paramount importance. The sickly Charles II. might expire at any moment, and then who should succeed? The death of the Spanish king was momentarily expected, though he lingered on for thirty-five years. To Spain, therefore, the eyes of Louis were always turning, for at any hour a messenger might arrive with a despatch announcing that all was over. The question of succession formed “the pivot on which turned almost all the policy of Louis XIV.; it occupied the diplomatists and the arms of France for fifty years and more; it formed the grandeur of the earlier days of his reign, and caused the misery of its end.”² James II. never understood that all his plans for his restoration to his kingdom must bend before this dominant thought in the mind of his powerful patron. Ireland or England was to be in the front or in the background of French policy according as each helped or hindered the solution of the intricate Spanish problem. Interests in Spain henceforth provide the motive, conscious and subconscious, of French diplomacy, and determine the direction of Louis’s German policy. Leopold was as resolved to maintain the inheritance of his House as his rival was to grasp it. Since the latter could not secure the whole of the Spanish possessions for France, Lionne, his able war minister, tried to secure the Spanish Netherlands, for these might be regarded as a pledge that his master would inherit the rest. The Devolution War ensued in 1667 when the French advanced into Flanders. In the following year the Peace

¹ Klopp, ii. 327.

² Mignet, *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne*, i. p. iii.

of Aix-la-Chapelle was arranged because it was believed that Charles II. might pass away at any moment. "Beyond the recognised reasons for peace," writes Louis, "there were others which depended solely on the secret views I at that time entertained."¹ In order to understand adequately those reasons, the changed attitude of the time towards religion must be set forward and discussed.

It is evident that from the Reformation to the middle of the seventeenth century all the political movements of the day have religion as their centre. It is usual to state that after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 trade takes the place of religion as the motive of changes in State policy. While this statement is substantially true, still religion remains a controlling, if no longer a determining, factor. *Cujus regio, ejus religio* stands forth as the motto of the day, and it is easy to see the steps that might lead the statesman by an easy transition from *religio* to *regio* as a motive in his policy. This motto virtually obtained authority by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, but the Thirty Years' War had to be waged before it became even partially effective. On all sides, however, there is a growing tendency to allow political instincts to overbear religious prepossessions. This change was one peculiarly grateful to France, for it was in keeping with her past history. Save, perhaps, in the civil wars of the sixteenth century, she invariably subordinated her religious opinions to her political needs. The spirit of Louis XI. actuated his illustrious namesake. An ardent Gallican, Louis aspired almost to play the part of Henry VIII. The French Church seemed on the point of separating from Rome, and we shall see that this bitter contest left an abiding mark on the history of Ireland. For the reigning Pontiff, Innocent XI., did not view with friendly eyes the designs of James, the friend and abettor of the French king, and of his Gallican claims. He also saw with no grateful glance the attack upon Holland. In this attack France showed that she no longer cared to hold the balance true between the conflicting Confessions.

¹ *Mémoires historiques : Œuvres*, ii. 369.

Politically the Dutch were obnoxious because the concessions secured to them in the great Treaty of 1648 stood in the way of French ambition. Mignet remarks that "in Holland the old political system of France made shipwreck."¹

The tendency to uniformity in religion, seen in France, may also be witnessed in the fragments of the Holy Roman Empire. True to her traditions, France turns no deaf ear to appeals for help from the Turk. In Hungary, Tekely, the leader of the Protestant Magyars, invokes Turkish assistance, and the advance to Vienna takes place. This war is no mere isolated event: it is in essence another move in the attempt to assume the Imperial crown. "After the break-up of Austrian power it could scarcely happen otherwise than that Louis should take up the task of defence against further aggressions of the infidels. Who would then have been able to refuse the Bourbon king the dignity of the Western Imperial Crown?"² But the sword of John Sobieski is thrown into the scale, and one result of the raising of the memorable siege is the persecution to which the Magyars were exposed. If Roman Catholicism gained in the eastern extremity of Europe, it lost in the western extremity. In spite of the efforts of the second Charles and the second James, the heart of England remained decisively Protestant. The English saw the tyranny of Louis both at home and abroad, and this tyranny became connected in their minds with Roman Catholicism. Their own king at home, James II., convinced them that a Roman Catholic monarch and a tyrant were synonymous terms. In the case of Hungary Louis could raise strong opposition, for Hungary, aided by Turkey, had often proved a terrible enemy. In the case of England the French king committed the grave blunder of exchanging a devoted friend like James II. for a relentless enemy like William III. In Hungary a powerful French ally lay in the rear of Leopold, but in England

¹ *Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne*, i. pp. lxii, lxiii.

² Erdmannsdörffer, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 1648-1740, i. 894.

a more powerful enemy to Louis existed in the person of the Dutch king. No doubt Louis thought he possessed some means of checking the devices of his rival, for he controlled the person of the banished sovereign. But with his eye steadily fixed on Spain he made an insufficient use of James, and ultimately William and his great successor, Marlborough, held France in check. It is perhaps worth remarking on the curious parallelism that exists between French policy in England and in Hungary. The character of the fierce struggle between the Austro-Spanish House and the Bourbon House changed, for the rival monarchs fought no longer for themselves, each having a Pretender to the inheritance. Then Louis began the policy of raising other Pretenders in order to give rise to diversions elsewhere. Spanish affairs determined Louis's strategy all the time, but his actual aims were often hidden from his opponents, who were misled by the moves, the real meaning of which they were unable to fathom. Like a master chess-player he moved about James III. of England, Ragoczy in Hungary, and Max Emanuel of Bavaria. At last he saw the desire of his soul when at the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, Spain passed from the Hapsburgs to the Bourbons. Spain then seemed to become a sort of Cave of Adullam for all the Pretenders of Europe. Charles XII. of Sweden, James of England, the sons of Elizabeth Farnese, and the King of Spain himself were all used as pawns in the game of France.

For the success of the French moves it was of vital moment to gain and to hold control of the sea. Richelieu saw the importance of such control, but this insight was denied to the successor of Mazarin. For Louis did not understand the force of Berkeley's pregnant remark :

Westward the course of Empire takes its way.

He turned east when he ought to have turned west, and as his gaze was steadily removed from sea to land, his fleet became in the course of time so insignificant that at

last the English fleet proved supreme. He forgot that on the ruins of Spain two other maritime nations were growing up—Holland and England. He was not fully alive to the significance of the place where his land and theirs met—the English Channel. In any struggle at sea the importance of these waters was signal, since a contest there must prove the prelude to struggles elsewhere. Just as Pitt conquered Canada in Germany, just as Napoleon tried to conquer Pondicherry on the banks of the Vistula, so Louis might have conquered Spain in English waters. The question of supremacy in the English Channel ought to have been the kernel of the policy of Louis towards England and Holland from 1660 till 1688. Unfortunately for the success of his own plans Louis did not perceive that England was his rival, Holland his ally. Richelieu, with a sure prevision of the coming contest, had tried to unite Holland to France in 1624, 1630, and 1635.¹ From the time when Louis himself assumed the reins of power in 1660 this wise policy was laid aside. Instead of gaining control of the Channel he tried to make it of no value, for he pitted Holland against England and so neutralised, as he conceived, its naval importance. His policy so far was successful, but in the issue he paid a costly price for his barren success.

From 1660 to 1668 France remained on friendly terms with Holland, for the isolation of the Netherlands was desirable. An agreement concluded with England in February 1667 and the Anglo-Dutch war left the way open, with the result that the French set about taking possession of the middle part of the eastern coast.² The two rivals, England and Holland, then perceived the folly of their warfare, and the Triple Alliance of the 23rd of January 1668 between them and Sweden placed an effective barrier to the French invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. The memorable position now occupied by England in foreign politics drove home one truth with

¹ Koch and Schoell, *Histoire abrégée des traités de paix*, i. 63; Klopp, i. 103.

² Klopp, i. 147, 156, 162-174.

overpowering conviction. Klopp sums it up with unanswerable force: "The way to the full possession of the Spanish Netherlands led, for Louis, over the ruins of the Republic. Instead of the bombast of the king, his minister, Louvois, set forth the object of the war, which he planned with the king after 1668, in the brief words, 'First to annihilate the Republic, then to take Belgium.'"¹ In effect this meant that king and minister were abandoning the deep policy of the cardinal statesman aiming at the rule of the sea, and that they were going to crush the then formidable rival of England, Holland, and leave the control of the waves to the daring islanders. "Blinded by his furious and jealous ambition (of Colbert the naval minister), wanting war at any cost, Louvois did not foresee that in joining with England to wipe out the seven united provinces, he was thereby destroying the only counterpoise which could one day hold in check the all-embracing power of England at sea. Still less did he imagine, or rather he disdained to imagine, that to strike the French party in Holland was to prepare the Revolution of 1688, which made an English province of this Republic, and delivered England for ever of its most dangerous enemy and its most deadly rival."²

The policy, then, of 1660 to 1668 is reversed, and for the next ten years Louis works unceasingly for the ruin of the united provinces. "My father," he is reported to have said, "raised them up, but I will tear them down." From 1668 to 1678 the tearing-down process is steadily proceeding. The Dutch might expect no help from their ally of 1668, for Charles II. had been restored to England to Romanise his subjects. Once he forsook his policy, but the lapse is almost unique. With this end in view he sought the alliance of the king of France, and that king soon made himself indispensable to Charles. The secret treaty of Dover of 1st of June 1670 aimed at securing the conversion of England and the annihilation of Holland.

¹ Klopp, i. 224.

² Eugène Sue, Introduction to *Correspondance de d'Escaubleau de Sourdis*, xxi.

The Triple Alliance was definitely torn up and the attack upon the Dutch began, with the result that France secured, for a time at least, possession of the north and centre of the eastern coast of the Channel. The year 1672 witnessed the effects of the treaty negotiated by the Jesuit son of Charles, for in April of that year came the Second Declaration of Indulgence and a few days later his Declaration of War against the Dutch.¹ The former step provoked the Test Act, and the latter evoked the resistance of William of Orange. Louis's attention ought to have been riveted upon the west, but as usual he turned east, leaving England to wage the naval combat. Charles saw some of the difficulties of his position, and he signed the Treaty of Westminster, February 9, 1674, with Holland.² He did not, however, gain his true place as the ruler of the narrow seas. Once more he fell under the spell of Louis, and in February 1676 he allied himself with France, promising to make no alliance with Holland or any other power, unless in common with France.³ Yet the following year he resisted the fascinations of France and William married Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. It was a marriage fraught with far-reaching consequences, for it placed the crown of England within the possible grasp of William. What that meant to him we can see from his own words: "It is from England that the salvation of Europe must come; without England she must fall under the yoke of France."⁴ There had been three rivals for the possession of the Channel. France and England had united to crush the third, Holland. From October 1677 two rivals were joined in exceedingly strong bonds, and these were England and Holland. The policy of wellnigh ten years before was revived with the happiest results to William and the most disastrous consequences to his great opponent. Few marriages indeed have been more momentous, not even that of another and earlier Mary—Mary of Burgundy. The evil effects of this alliance upon France were, as all keen observers saw, only

¹ Klopp, i. 300.

³ Klopp, ii. 31.

² Koch and Schoell, i. 146.

⁴ Klopp, iii. 425.

a matter of time. "Time and I against any two," spoke Mazarin, and William might possess his soul in patience, for time and he were foes worthy of the whole attention of Louis. The struggle between Louis and William may be reckoned as one of the great duels of history; it was one of those rivalries between man and man which were witnessed between Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI., between Francis I. and Charles V., and between Philip II. and the Prince of Orange.

For a season the good effects of William's marriage were undone since in May 1678 Charles again entered into an alliance with France, pledging himself to prorogue Parliament and to disband the army in return for six million livres.¹ The Peace of Nimeguen, August 10, 1678, seemed to destroy William's hopes of combining Holland with England against French despotism. Louis seemed to be more powerful than ever, though careful contemporary observation suspected that about this time he reached the climax of his glory. A medal was issued with his favourite cognisance, depicting him as Apollo, the sun-god. But French medals of this type, as the notorious one of Napoleon that was to have been *frappé à Londres* also shows, have a singularly unhappy trick of being falsified by the event. William, with a clever application of Biblical history, the point of which was probably missed by the ignorant Louis, also issued a medal, in which he was depicted as Joshua, who of old commanded the sun to stand still. For the moment, however, the sun, refusing to stand still, moved on in his triumphant path with undiminished splendour, and the time for Louis to be checked in his brilliant course was as yet ten years distant. In order to accomplish this check William toiled with a patience resembling, as he once said, the patience with which he had seen a boatman on a canal strain against an adverse eddy, often swept back but never ceasing to pull, and content if, by the labour of hours, a few yards could be gained.²

If Louis had borne in mind the course of the great

¹ Klopp, ii. 129.

² Temple's *Memoirs*.

luminary to which he compared himself, he might have averted the peril already threatening his plans. For the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, and its closing rays fall upon the land that ought to have commanded his undivided attention. It seemed as if the sun of Louis, reversing the order of nature, rose in the west and set in the east, for his attention for the next ten years was concentrated upon Austria, "the eastern country." To him eastward the course of empire took its way. Throwing aside the traditions of Richelieu and Colbert, he aimed at making the Channel a nullity in political affairs. William, as clear sighted as the Cardinal and the Mercantilist, tried to wed England to Holland, so as to give the strait between them its proper place in European politics. Filled with this desire he came to England in 1681 to make a personal appeal to Charles, but the latter was unwilling, as he certainly was unable, to aid him. Again William wanted Charles to guarantee the armistice that Leopold concluded with Louis in 1684, and here he failed.¹ The failure seemed a hard blow to the phlegmatic Dutchman, though in the end it proved a decisive success. Had William succeeded in his efforts he could scarcely have sailed for Tor Bay four years later. For when Louis broke his truce by attacking Germany in 1688, England had no ties with the other guarantors, and was left alone.

The death of Charles in 1685 altered the situation to some degree. Charles could—and the biting phrase neatly marks off the difference between the brothers—if he would, and James would if he could. William saw how much depended on the friendly attitude of the new king, and he tried to secure it. James for the moment desired the friendship of Holland, for he wanted peace to complete the work begun by his brother. He had resolved to imitate Charles in his remarkably successful attempts to gain absolute power, for with the silencing of the opposition of the towns by the writs *quo warranto* came the subservience of Parliament. James thought that with the silencing

¹ Klopp, ii. 427; iii. 149, 162.

of the two ancient universities there would surely come the subservience of the clergy. With an obedient Parliament and an obsequious clergy, what had his policy of Romanising the nation to fear? Moreover, had not his cousin of France proved that the conversion of heretics was a feasible, nay, an easy, task? Did not even Bossuet assure his sovereign that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a tremendous success? No doubt his English subjects might be affrighted at the form the conversion assumed, but much might be put down to the belief that the reports were exaggerated. Was not he, James, an apostle of toleration, and was it likely he would countenance any too vigorous treatment for opening the eyes of his purblind subjects? The policy of his brother had proved an assured success, for he did without a parliament for the last four years of his reign, and his subjects had not shown active displeasure. Perhaps he with his equally—so it seemed to him—strong rule might reduce the clergy, as his brother had reduced the governing laity. Another feature appealed to him and moved him to determined efforts. The theology of the day struck James as being decidedly Catholic in its tendencies. His father knew the difference between the Roman Catholic and the Anglo-Catholic position, but this distinction James failed to make. To him, as to others, it looked as if there was no such distinction, and he accordingly reckoned prelates to be Roman Catholic who were really Anglo-Catholic. To James it appeared as if these men held many of the tenets of his own communion, and with a very little persuasion they might become genuine Roman Catholics. If the leaders of the flock held these views, the sheep, he felt certain, would easily follow their shepherds. James found out to his cost that in theology, as in other matters, a little learning is a dangerous thing. In the Church, as in the State, he stood for the Hobbeian conception of sovereignty, a conception that cost him his throne. Filled with dread of the anarchy of the Cavalier and Roundhead days, the philosopher of Malmesbury pleaded for a strong ruler. Moved by this consideration

and by the example of his brother sovereign of France, James determined to exercise the double sovereignty of which the Stuarts talked so much. His absolute power should be shown as effectively in matters ecclesiastical as his brother's had been in the sphere of civil affairs. But in order to convert England to Roman Catholicism the need of French succour was apparent, and the slight tie that bound England to Holland was soon snapped.

Intelligence of the understanding between France and England was conveyed to William, and James vainly protested the baselessness of the report.¹ Slowly it dawned upon the nephew that the uncle was not open to the argument of reason, and that therefore he must employ the argument of force. To thinking people in England the same conviction came with increasing strength. They saw James issue the Declaration of Indulgence in March 1687, and Parliament perceived that they retained the shadow, James the substance, of power. Barillon wrote home that it was not in the interests of his master that a good understanding should exist between the Parliament and the sovereign, and Louis might well rejoice at the success crowning the efforts of his servant. Between the time the father raised his standard at Edgehill and the day the son returned to England lay some seventeen years. What had happened once might happen again. If another conflict ensued, England, at best a troublesome friend, might become a cypher for another seventeen years, and all the cunningly prepared plans of France might, in the meantime, come to a successful issue. Louis might indeed exult as he perceived the growing rift between the Parliament and the sovereign. Not for nothing had his *louis d'or* jingled in the pockets of the members of the House of Commons. All his foresight and all these intrigues were rendered null and void by two events, each seemingly unimportant in itself. When James asked for the recall of the English troops in the service of Holland, the Dutch deputies at once comprehended that the soldiers were required for duty against themselves, since James had

an adequate number of men at home.¹ Louis, in true mercantilist spirit, decided to prohibit the importation of herrings into France, and the merchants of Amsterdam were highly incensed by this measure. The fatal mistake was committed of threatening the Dutch, and the bare possibility of William's fleet sailing was converted into an accomplished fact, for the schemes of William were no longer his own but became those of his people. His plans did not at first, perhaps, include the expulsion of James from England. He wanted to compel him to save Europe since he refused to face the facts of the case.² Avaux discerned the true bearing of events, and on the 9th of September he appeared before the States-General with the Declaration: "The king is convinced that these preparations here are meant against England, therefore I am to declare in the king's name that, by virtue of the friendship and alliance which he has with the king of England, he is not only bound to stand by him, but also will consider the first act of hostility which may come from you against the king of England as an open breach of peace against his own crown."³ This ultimately proved decisive, and the Dutch definitely threw in their lot with that of their great countryman. But could they spare him to lead the invasion in person? The answer to this question depended on Louis, and by his indiscretion he rendered it possible to give an affirmative answer. The control of the Channel passed away from French hands, for Louis was now confronted with one mighty power, no longer torn in twain by rivalry, resting on either side of the Straits of Dover. The coronation gift of England's first foreign king, as Klopp finally puts it, was the secure possession of the Channel. The importance of this gift is nowhere more clearly discerned than in its bearing on Irish affairs. But to understand how the menace of France might be disregarded we must survey the balance of power in religion.

With the growth of nations the formula *Cujus regio ejus religio* became of increasing importance. The Pope

¹ Klopp, iii. 391-392.

² *Ibid.* iv. 447-448; ix. 490; xiii. 394.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 117.

found it difficult to adjust himself to the altered aspect of affairs, and in 1648 he had protested vigorously against the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia because he was not represented at the peace congress. Innocent XI. did not attain the universal power seized by the third of that name. The judicious use of the veto resting in the four Roman Catholic powers effectually succeeded in hindering any great personality sitting on the throne of Saint Peter from 1644 to 1750.¹ Though these were the days of Grotius, the Pope still claimed to be regarded as a sort of international arbitrator. At the apex of the pyramid of Europe he still stood forth as the head of all nations. Nevertheless, to the old question of the relations between the temporal and the spiritual power of the Papacy was added the new national question of the relations between Church and State. For we must never imagine that in mediæval times the question of the relations between the Church and the State arose.² The two officers, the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, might quarrel as to the respective power belonging to them, but they were quite clear that they were two officials of one great body; there were not two rival bodies then, though now such a rivalry appeared imminent. With this newer problem came a fresh complication. As Louis was trying to revive this conception of the Holy Roman Empire, so he and two other sovereigns tried, no doubt in widely different ways and with widely different results, to revive Roman Catholicism. Leopold in Hungary, Louis in France, and James in England attempted to create a second counter-Reformation. The first counter-Reformation had helped to save Roman Catholicism when it was sinking, but the second was not destined to bring about such a consummation.

Like his colleagues in the west the Emperor Leopold showed a strong desire to proselytise, but, unlike one of them, he testified by his acts that he was neither a fanatic nor a despot. Thus at the Diet of Odenburg

¹ Hase, *Vorlesungen*, iv. 120, 121.

² J. N. Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, *passim*.

in 1681 he issued a declaration granting freedom of public worship to German and Magyar Protestants.¹ Both bodies were struggling for their religious liberty, but the struggle was complicated in the latter case by the fact that the Magyars were also contending for their national and political independence. This concession was not enough to satisfy the ambition of Tekely, who, joining forces with the new Grand Vizier, was hopeful of delivering Hungary from the hated yoke of Austria, even at the price of submission to a Moslem overlord. But the repulse of the Turks by John Sobieski at Vienna, 1683, proved a grave injury to Magyar hopes, and their aspirations received a death-blow in the fall of the fortress of Munkacz in 1687, and in the defeat of Mohacz.² Caraffa used his victory in a cruel fashion, and Protestantism was relentlessly persecuted. Leopold, to his credit, ended the terrible cruelties, and endeavoured to spread Roman Catholicism by peaceful means. Naturally the discontented Protestants still looked to Turkey for salvation in their dire distress. A war with Turkey then was inevitable because of its long and close connection with Hungary. When Leopold began his preparations for what was really a revival of the mediæval crusade, the Pope extended to him the heartiest support. The days of Frederick the Great had not yet come when the action of the Pope in a case like this might be laughed at by Europe. Innocent XI. resolved to lend the support of the Papacy to Leopold, and in so doing, like Louis, he devoted all his attention to the course of affairs in the east. What happened to the two monarchs in the west happened, for exactly opposite reasons, to the one in the east. He came into closer contact with the Pope through his policy abroad than through his policy at home. One can conceive the joy with which Innocent heard of the notable victory of Mohacz, a victory that rendered the Hungarian throne hereditary in the House

¹ Klopp, iii. 96; Moret, *Histoire des révolutions de Hongrie*, i. 95-98.

² Moret, *Quinze ans de règne de Louis XIV*, ii. 15; *Histoire des révolutions de Hongrie*, i. 111, 125; Klopp, iii. 361.

of Hapsburg.¹ But to make it complete all Leopold's efforts were needed, and it appeared as if he were free to devote himself to the crusade so fervently blessed by the Pope. Were not his western borders secured by the armistice of 1684? Was it credible that the eldest son of the Church would attack another faithful son, engaged in a work sanctioned by its head? To Europe it seemed impossible that a Christian should league himself with an infidel to undo the great work that was in progress. From the Pope such an alliance would at once meet with the severest reprobation. Gallicanism had weakened his faith in Louis, and this step must inevitably destroy it. Louis, in fact, stood at the parting of the religious ways in the summer of that fateful year, 1688.²

The action of the French king at this particular time was the outcome of his religious policy at home, and this again was influenced by his views as to his authority in religion. As the reviver of the empire of Charlemagne he looked back to pagan times for his theory of Church and State. From this standpoint it was easy to arrive at the conception that the sovereign must possess absolute power, and that absolute obedience must be paid to him. He deemed that the Christian religion played its part as the great unifying power in the State, that the Church must help his authority. Hence Louis looks upon the interests of the Church, or what he regards as such, not as ends, but merely as means to an end, and that end—his own supremacy.³ Herein lies the essence of Gallicanism, the form the second counter-Reformation assumed both in France and England. The western revival and the eastern revival differed fundamentally, and this difference contributed in no scanty degree to the salvation of Protestantism. In the east the revival was engineered by the orthodox Leopold,

¹ Moret, *Histoire des révolutions*, i. 112, 119.

² Droysen, *Preussische Politik*, iv. 1. 41: "Nur die Ungläubigen blieben dem allerchristlichsten Könige zur Waffengemeinschaft. Es wurde gesagt und geglaubt, dass demnächst die Lilienflagge, mit der der Korsaren Nordafrikas vereint, in See erscheinen werde, gegen die holländisch-englische Flotte zu kämpfen. Daher das Anagramm auf 'Ludovicus decimus quartus': Ludovicus quid es? Sum Turca."

³ Klopp, i. 46, 48; iii. 409.

and on this movement the Pontiff graciously smiled. In the west the revival looked dangerously like a movement for the independence of the Church and on it the Pontiff frowned. How could he extend his approval to a Church that still adhered to four great articles of 1682 as the basis of French Catholicism?¹ They postulated the independence of the secular power from interference by the spiritual, the superiority of General Councils over the Pope, the fallibility of the Pope, and the necessity for the agreement of the ecclesiastical canons with the laws of France. The Pope felt towards Louis as his predecessor had felt towards Louis XI., and he condemned the four articles.² If religion were to become but the concern of a mere department of State to aggrandise a rival authority, Innocent rightly felt that it was unworthy of the name it condescended to wear. That Louis had taken a secular view of religion is evident from two instructive incidents. One of these arose from the fact that ambassadors were allowed by a legal fiction to regard their houses as if they were built on their native soil. The ambassador and his suite were exempt from the local law and, by an easy extension, this privilege of extraterritoriality became a *franchise de l'hôtel*, or even a *franchise du quartier*.³ In effect this came to mean that criminals could escape punishment by going to an ambassadorial house for protection. Other nations agreed to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs, but Louis haughtily refused. Indeed, in November 1687 the Marquis Lavardin came to Rome with 800 armed men to enforce Louis's claims in the matter, and added to the disorder. He was promptly excommunicated, and the fulminations of the Church deepened the rift, which Louis further extended by his seizure of the Papal state of Avignon.⁴ The other incident sprang from the fact that when in the autumn of 1687 the archbishop of Cologne required a coadjutor,

¹ Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, i. 209, 210.

² Brosch, *Geschichte des Kirchenstaates*, i. 442; Michaud, *Louis XIV et Innocent XI*, III. xix.; IV. iv.

³ Oppenheim, *International Law*, i. 442.

⁴ Brosch, i. 443, 444; Michaud, II. viii. and III. ii. vii.

Louis compelled the chapter to accept his friend, the Cardinal Fürstenberg, bishop of Strassburg. In the following year the archbishop died, and by French intrigue Fürstenberg was elected, though without the two-thirds majority required and despite the protests of Innocent, who declared the election invalid and appointed the rival candidate, John Clementine of Bavaria.¹ The old struggle between Pope and Hohenstaufen now broke out between Pope and Bourbon, and Louis seemed determined not to go to Canossa. Thus strangely enough the advance of the second counter-Reformation was held in check not by Protestants but by Roman Catholics. That a deadly struggle was proceeding is evidenced by the Gallican decrees, by the question of the ambassador at Rome, and by the troubles over the election to the archbishopric of Cologne.

If Innocent did not view with favour French policy abroad, he did not extend much approval to it even at home.² Yet at first sight, French home policy seemed such as would commend itself to such a zealous Roman Catholic. For on the 22nd of October 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was signed. This revocation was the final outcome of the systematic persecution of the Huguenots from the days of Mazarin. The French king had fallen under the fascination of Madame de Maintenon, and, anxious perhaps to atone for the vicious courses of his earlier years, he determined to root out heresy from the land. That any one should differ from him in religion was in itself an offence. That this religious difference should imperil the national unity was a marked aggravation of the offence. The remonstrances of the clergy against the continuance of the heresy of the Huguenots found a ready listener. They told him in

¹ C. Gérin, "Le Pape Innocent XI et l'élection de Cologne en 1688," *Rev. des quest. hist.* xxxiii., 1883.

² When Innocent XI. refused to approve of the Revocation, Frenchmen expressed surprise that he departed from the example set before him by one of the most conspicuous ornaments of his palace (Germain to Bretagne, Rome, December 24, 1685; Valéry, *Corresp. de Mabillon*, i. 192).

C. Gérin, "Le Pape Innocent XI et la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes," *Rev. des quest. hist.* xxiv., 1878.

1685 at their Assembly that "the Edict of Nantes could not any longer serve as a general law, by reason of the modifications and interpretations which had been made on different occasions." Convinced at last of the necessity of revocation, because of the dangerous influence of French Protestants on the unity of the kingdom, Louis signed the decree. Unlike Leopold, when he attached his signature he adhered to his decision. In 1687 the Roman Emperor ceased his persecuting policy at Pressburg when he understood the gravity of the case. Innocent, however, seemed to be better satisfied with Austrian than with French policy, for he discerned the evil effects the latter might have in a Protestant country like England. The Pope was naturally pleased at the increase in the number of his Church, but he felt displeased at the manner in which this increase was effected.¹ If the Protestant imitated the methods of the Roman Catholic, much in the days to come might be feared for the safety of the latter in a country like Ireland. What the indirect action of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes might be no one at that time could fully foresee.

The Stuarts were unlike the later Bourbons, who learnt nothing and forgot nothing. The two sons of Charles I. learnt much during their travels abroad, but of one thing both men remained profoundly ignorant, and that was the spirit of the people over whom they ruled. They understood France to some degree, and they knew that for the conversion of England they must trust to French favour. With the second Charles the secret treaty of Dover of 1670 marks a turning-point in his reign. This treaty indicates that his measures for the conversion of England to Roman Catholicism are actuated by political considerations. Innocent shared with Talleyrand a dread of too much zeal and in 1679 he had advised moderation.² To this counsel Charles had paid some heed, but James disregarded it.³ "All the advices

¹ Brosch, i. 442 ; De Felice, *Histoire des Protestants de France* (edit. 1861), III. xvii.

² *Campana de Cavelli*, i. 302.

³ *Adventures of James II.*—Gasquet's Introduction.

sent from Rome," wrote Cardinal Howard, "were for slow, calm, and moderate courses. But he saw violent courses were more acceptable, and would probably be followed." What was in some degree a matter of policy to Charles proved to be a matter of conscience with his brother. Louis himself failed to perceive that the English were struggling against James for Protestantism, and that the desire for Roman Catholicism was personal and not national. He did not see that if James fell, all the schemes for the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England fell with him. James regarded it as his duty to avow his faith in Romanism, and he was determined to make the people of England embrace his doctrine. A past master of dogma of a later age, Cardinal Newman, confessed that he found it difficult to make an Englishman take a dogmatic position. But the course that affrighted Newman possessed small terrors for James. Yet had he been a statesman he might have seen that his attempts were ruined before they were even begun. The Huguenots, who fled to England and Ireland, brought terrible tales of the rigorous treatment meted out to them. Cosmo de' Medici found it hard to govern the world by paternosters, and the English found it difficult to believe in paternosters conveyed to them in such a fashion. They saw in Hungary what they witnessed in France, and they determined to resist to the death a faith compatible with such barbarous methods of propagation.

The first Declaration of Indulgence, the attempt to make Oxford a seminary of Jesuit priests, the conduct of the judges, the officering of the army by Roman Catholics, the management of parliamentary elections by the King, the manipulation of both Houses, the second Declaration of Indulgence, and the trial of the seven bishops resulted in the invitation sent to William to save the liberties and the religion of England. The cold attitude of the Pope and of Leopold to James is explained by his sympathy with the form of Roman Catholicism favoured by Louis. Moreover, Leopold could not fail to remember that James,

like his brother, refused to guarantee the armistice of 1684.¹ The advisers of James, the chief of whom was Father Petre, were largely Jesuits, and Innocent had no special love for the followers of the Black Pope. In them he saw the servants of Gallicanism rather than the servants of the Church, and he obstinately refused to bestow the red hat of a Cardinal on James's most trusted adviser.² The Declaration of Passive Obedience, issued by the University of Oxford in 1683, suggested an unpleasantly close parallel to the Gallican Articles of the preceding year. If at home James II.'s policy seemed a close imitation of that of France, abroad the same likeness might be perceived. In the case of the ambassador at Rome and in the case of election to the archbishopric of Cologne, James came forward as a mediator between the conflicting parties, but his bias against Rome was obvious. On the 3rd of April 1688 Lord Howard came to Rome to assist in settling the former question and his mediation was refused.³ In the latter matter James urged Innocent to restore Fürstenburg, the puppet of Louis.⁴ James was a son of the Church, doubtless, but too like her self-willed eldest son to satisfy an orthodox Pope like Innocent, and he was sanguine indeed to expect active assistance from Rome when the day of need came in August 1688. The second counter-Reformation was ruined. The attitude of Innocent to James as he watched Louis at Cologne is best expressed in his own words—*"Salus ex inimicis nostris."*⁵

Thus James and Louis both stood, though they little knew it, on the brink of a great crisis in the summer of 1688. It was with the latter that decisive action rested. A short survey of affairs will show the gravity of the situation. In the Far East Leopold was busy with his crusade. Germany was bound to peace by an armistice for twenty years, and French influence had not increased, for the

¹ Klopp, ii. 433 ; iii. 302 ; cf. Foxcroft, *Life of Lord Halifax*, i. 339-342.

² Macaulay, i. 357 ; Klopp, iii. 395.

³ Brosch, i. 144.

⁴ Klopp, iv. 182 ; Droysen, iv. 1. 23.

⁵ *Lando's Despatches* ; Brosch, i. 145.

Elector of Bavaria was taking a prominent part in the crusade, and the Great Elector had deserted France for Leopold and William. In the south Spain was growing weaker under her invalid king, while in the north Holland and England were surveying each other with no very friendly eyes. It was a decisive time. In what direction would Louis act? Would he strike against England or against the Emperor? Which was the more dangerous foe? He might turn northwards to Holland or eastwards to Germany, though a northern invasion might seem perhaps useless. James, his faithful ally, might be trusted to watch Holland. James felt so sure of his ability to look after his affairs that he wrote to Louis declining his help and his alliance.¹ William might make preparations, but the fate of Argyll and Monmouth probably awaited him. Louis therefore turned away from the north where a siege of Maestricht—a town belonging to the archbishop of Cologne as bishop of Liège—on behalf of his notorious tool, Fürstenburg, would have checkmated any movement of William's by rendering Holland insecure.² He made the fatal mistake of underestimating his opponent. Of course we must allow for the fact that the position of affairs eastwards seemed peculiarly attractive to Louis. Leopold was fighting with the Turks, allies of Louis, and was winning and the French allies must be supported. Moreover, much land might be gained by his breaking the armistice of 1684.³ The "Réunions" had given him territory, and no effective remonstrance had been heard. Germany was too disunited to make strenuous resistance.⁴ It was wrong to move northwards when an eastward march brought such prospects of booty. But among the mistakes made at the end of his reign Louis never

¹ Klopp, iv. 63, 126.

² St. Simon's *Mémoires* (edit. Chéruel), vi. 265; *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 283.

³ Droysen, iv. 1. 27 "Mochte Oranien seine Expedition versuchen, König Jacob II. war mehr als stark genug, ein Abenteuer der Art abzuweisen; ja es war wünschenswerth, dass die staatliche Kriegsmacht sich in das englische Unternehmen vertiefte, damit Frankreich desto sicherer gegen Österreich vorgehen könne. Den Türken musste geholfen werden, ehe sie völlig erlagen; es galt durch einer energischen Stoss auf das Reich einen Theil der Streitkräfte, die sie erdrückten, abzuziehen, den Stoss dahin zu richten, wo er für Österreich am Empfindlichsten war."

⁴ Klopp, iv. 143, 192.

committed a more fatal one. It showed, what indeed had long been suspected, that no reliance could be placed upon the promises he was pleased to make. It left out of account the union which the eastern crusade was cementing in Germany.¹ It demonstrated that Louis preferred the interests of Gallican France to those of Roman Catholic Europe. It ignored the effect his persecuting policy inevitably produced in the lands, notably England and Ireland, to which the refugees had fled. It forgot the hatred that the French policy of aggrandisement had inspired in the heart of William and in the mind of England. The latter felt that at all costs the alliance between England and France must be finally broken.

The news from the east hastened the march of the French troops. On the 6th of September came the unwelcome intelligence that Belgrade had fallen into the hands of the Christians.² Louis then issued his declaration of war against Germany—a terrible blunder. His soldiers surrounded Philipsburg, and it surrendered on the 23rd.³ The Dutch fears of a French invasion passed away, and even Amsterdam consented that William should sail, for all pressure on the rear had disappeared. On the 29th of October William sailed, and on the 15th of November he landed at Tor Bay.

The unexpected alliance at Magdeburg on the 15th of October between the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony and the Duke of Brunswick interposed formidable obstacles to the French conquest of the Palatinate.⁴ As Louis could not hold this territory, acting under Louvois's advice, he gave orders for its systematic devastation. The autocrat laid down that "custom and the law of war"—convenient authorities when they suited him—"allow a country to be made useless to an enemy." From the 18th of December 1688 to March 1689 the savage work of destruction went on and left memories in Germany that have not yet been eradicated.⁵

¹ Erdmannsdörffer, i. 695.

² Klopp, iv. 123; Droysen, iv. i. 28.

³ Klopp, iv. 192.

⁴ Koch and Schoell, i. 159.

⁵ Klopp, iv. 198.

James could expect no aid from Louis, for he had disdained it. He could not reasonably expect much support from Innocent, for he had run counter to his most cherished plans. Now he was to feel the fatal effect of his brother's and his own policy in not guaranteeing the armistice. Leopold was not bound to come to his assistance. The Imperial Ambassador wrote: "James does not see that France has sought to favour this expedition of the prince by her invasion of Germany, hoping to see the power of Holland make a diversion in this kingdom at just the right time, while she strikes her blow elsewhere."¹ But was James strong enough to meet William? Louis assumed that he was, and on this assumption had marched eastwards. Perhaps the great camp of soldiers on Hounslow Heath, many of them Irish, impressed his imagination. So much did he overrate James and under-rate William that he spent his efforts in urging the English king to fight uncompromisingly. He sent subsidies on condition that there must be no talk of compromise with the invader.² He appeared to be obsessed by the notion that this war might last as long as the last civil war. The rapid advance, however, of William undeceived him. On the 19th of November the Prince of Orange entered Exeter, and on the 3rd of December Churchill came to his camp. On the 28th of December he entered the capital. Louis now suggested compromise and thought of sacrificing the king to the demands of the prince, though such a course must prejudice the invasion of Germany. How in view of the altered situation was Louis to secure his old position in England? It occurred to his fertile mind that a suitable pledge might ensure the dependence of England. What is noteworthy is that James voluntarily offered such a pledge in the person of his queen and his son, and lastly of himself.³ But a short time before James had scornfully rejected help from Louis, and now he offered to give such strong security for the future dependence of his land upon France. The insight into the significance of this act,

¹ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 356.

² Klopp, iv. 173.

³ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 413.

though denied to the English king, was granted to Lord Dartmouth, who refused to carry the Prince of Wales to France.¹ In the end Lauzun brought him to Calais on the 21st of December. "Louis was so greatly pleased at this that he said in public that after having received from Lauzun such a service, he could do no less than . . . see him."² The king set out to follow his son, when the fishermen stopped him. Perhaps even these men saw the hold that the flight must give France over England. As the king was thus prevented from coming to France it was the policy of Louis to retain the Prince of Wales as a guarantee against any reconciliation in London as well as against William, if James became a negligible quantity. Since the danger of civil war for the present appeared to be averted, the pledge of it for the future must be tenaciously held. This is evident from the orders sent to Lauzun at Calais. At all costs the queen must be removed from the coast, lest she and her son should return to England if the king's power revived. "You are to understand," writes Louvois, "that the king's intention is that the queen be made to come to Vincennes with the Prince of Wales by all the most honourable pretexts that you can imagine."³ Louis was determined to use her as a pawn in the game, and he must therefore be able to control her moves. James made another, and this time a successful, attempt at flight, and on the 4th of January 1689 arrived at Ambleteuse. William was probably not at all sorry that his rival had escaped, for his departure solved a difficult problem. To him it was now obvious that he must be king, and not merely prince; for then he would have both the securities for Louis's interference outside, not as till then one inside and one outside, the kingdom.⁴ To Louis the events of the 4th of January must have brought unmixed joy, for had he not England completely at his mercy? Its king, queen, and heir were absolutely in his power, and at any time he could declare war against it in their name. Charles

¹ Klopp, iv. 253.

² *Campana de Carvelli*, ii. 461; Klopp, iv. 269; Rousset, *Louvois*, iv. 151.

³ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 454.

⁴ Klopp, iv. 285; v. 371.

I. thought that no matter what solution of the civil war might present itself, he at least was indispensable. Similarly the French king appeared to think that the person of James must infallibly be required, sooner or later, for the solution of affairs in England. That the House of Stuart had fallen and fallen for ever never dawned upon either Louis or James for a moment. *L'Etat, c'est moi* are the words put into the mouth of the French king by Voltaire, and though Louis never uttered these famous words all his conduct was based on his belief in their truth. James too was the State, and as such his presence must be required in England. But Louis held him really a prisoner at St. Germain's, and he thought therefore he controlled England. His policy of looking eastwards and not westwards seemed crowned with success, greater than even he himself had dreamt of. In Germany his statecraft was triumphing, and in England his policy was seemingly destined to secure prosperity in the near future, for he possessed the requisite pledges. But—and this “but” is weighty—was James the State? If he was, well and good; if he was not, all was over. Belief in the divine right of kings blinded Louis to the fact that he had gained the king of England, while he had lost the kingdom of England itself.

The flight of James was in truth the turning-point in the history of the Grand Monarch, and of the balance of power in Europe. For over a quarter of a century he had been planning and plotting, and all his schemes had met with a large measure of success. Now he had committed the greatest of all strategical mistakes. He had allowed his enemy to take him in the rear. The grave matter was that he never perceived the grossness of the blunder he had made. Yet a careful consideration of his own policy might have warned him of its seriousness. Behind Leopold he had contrived to stir up an enemy, for he was embroiled with Turkey.¹ That he had fallen

¹ Klopp, v. 1: “Directly or indirectly the other powers shared in the good or bad fortune of their friends, just as a success or failure of English arms on the Boyne or Shannon was heard of with joy or sorrow in Vienna, so the cannon of the Tower of London announced to the English people the Emperor's victories over the Turks.”

into the trap he had prepared for another never struck him. The events, however, of the next half-century show with unmistakable clearness the vast importance of the fall of the House of Stuart, and the effects of this fall may be witnessed in the changed relations of England to Europe. Till 1688 Louis might regard England as the cornerstone of his fabric of aggression ; with her secure in his interests he could plunder Germany and wait till Spain fell into his grasp. His own insight as regards England was, unfortunately for him, shared by his rival. William of Orange at once saw that England must be on his side if he were to measure swords with France with any prospect of success. His negotiations and his marriage prove how long and how tenaciously William worked to gain his ends. He perceived that on the attitude of England to Europe the control of affairs rested. Roughly speaking, we may say that all the intricate threads of European history rested for the moment in the hand of James, but he flung them from his hands by his hasty flight. Neither Charles nor James could take a European view of their responsible position. Their early life abroad had not had the effect of making them see affairs with European as well as with English eyes. They could not see—Charles was unwilling, and James was unable, to use his eyes—that they were only pieces in the game that France was playing. They did not perceive that upon English policy hinged the fortunes of Europe as well as their own. James moved in accordance with the promptings of Louis, the master player, but not only were the minor tactics exemplified in moving the English piece of no avail, but the great game of European politics, in which the English moves were only contributory elements, was utterly disorganised by his flight to France. With an irretrievable crash the pieces that were to have moved eastwards for Germany and southwards for Spain were swept from the board by the strong hand of William. For five-and-twenty years the game had been in progress, and one false move ensured the ruin of the carefully planned combination. With the fall of the House of Stuart the

discriminating observer could discern the beginnings of the fall of the House of Bourbon. For one hundred years, from 1588 to 1688, the French House had attained marvellous success, but for the next hundred, from 1689 to 1789, slow downfall is dogging its steps.

The beginning of the end might be noted on land, but was soon obvious at sea. Holland and England could take united action to restore the Channel to its legitimate influence in foreign politics. Here indeed there was some reason on the side of France in minimising the importance of these waters. For the French navy had been predominant, and the English navy had counted for but little. The poet may sing that the flag of England had braved the battle and the breeze a thousand years, but the sober historian knows that it is only from the reign of William we can date the unquestionable supremacy of our navy. It was difficult for Louis to understand how mighty a displacement of power his ill-judged statesmanship had called into being. It is easy to be wise after the event, and we feel with Wellington how hard it is to be wise before it. From a naval point of view it is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Revolution of 1688. For the first time almost in English history the men-of-war of England play a tremendously important part in foreign affairs. The sea power which William's policy so largely helped to call into being was destined to become the arbiter of Europe. Had Louis thought less about affairs in the east and more about those in the west, we can see what a difference this point of view would have made in his plan. He did not understand how his neglect of the navy had hindered the success of his schemes. He had James in his hands, and he resolved to send him to Ireland to break up William's triple-headed kingdom. Without the command of the sea Louis could not hope to maintain James in Ireland against the whole power of England. Therefore the result of the struggle in Ireland depended largely upon the result of the naval battles. In 1689 France still exercised a large control at sea, and James easily landed in Ireland. The victories of

Tourville pointed to the fact that the French navy was still formidable. It was the great victory of 1692 which destroyed all measures that depended on the sea power of France for their success. "As at Lepanto, so at La Hogue, the supremacy of the sea passed from the one side to the other."¹ The French domination over the English and Irish Channels utterly disappeared. No doubt the question of the North Sea yet remained to be settled. The Treaty of Utrecht, however, secured possession of the eastern coast of this sea. With the Act of Union of 1707 all danger was removed from the west coast, as the Pretender found to his cost when he tried to land the following year. The French navy had been steadily shrinking in number, while the English fleet had been much augmented. The former, from the time of La Hogue and the death of Seignelay, the son and successor of Colbert, fell into decay. In 1689 James was supported by an extensive French fleet. In 1708 a mere flotilla accompanied his son. This effectually marks the ground France had lost in the intervening nineteen years.

The keystone in Louis's vast spreading arch of power was displaced, and the arch crashed with it when James was exiled. Louis was to learn, by hard experience, the difference between the usefulness of a dupe in possession of a throne, and the uselessness of one with merely a claim to it. James and his son might be pledges of his power over them, but they were not an earnest of his control over England. The more completely they remained in his hands the more thoroughly they demonstrated the utter weakness of their position. The Declaration of Right informed all whom it concerned that, "Whereas the late King James having abdicated the Government, the throne is thereby vacant . . . the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster do resolve that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging." Had Louis grasped the import

¹ L. von Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, iv. 44.

of these words he would have understood that they sounded the death-knell to his hopes.

The French monarch changed his plans because the situation had altered, though how vital the transformation had been he had yet to grasp. With an audacity little short of marvellous he approached the Pope and the Emperor to begin a crusade in the west as they had already begun one in the east. Long ago Philip de Commines had noted a signal fact: "The English often win in battle, but the French always win in diplomacy."¹ Now was the time for the French to display the superiority with which they were credited. Plausible reasons might be alleged for the *volte-face* that Louis asked the Emperor and the Pope to execute. The religion of William was Calvinist, and how could an emperor like Leopold reconcile it to his conscience to succour an enemy of his faith? In the east Leopold was engaged in active operations against the heretics, and he might therefore be expected to assist cordially a similar movement in the west. The memory of Leopold was as conveniently long as that of his rival was conveniently short. He remembered that William had more than once declared that his expedition was not designed for a religious war, but for a defence of liberty, as his subsequent treatment of the Roman Catholics proved. Besides, was not Louis helping the infidels, his enemies, in the east?² From the French king's conception of Roman Catholicism the Emperor shrank. He could not uphold Louis, for he thought that Gallicanism was a travesty of his own doctrine. Yet, strangely enough, Louis used the religious reason as the ground for the support of his ally. "O liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name," uttered Charlotte Corday, and as we see the *motivierung* of Louis we feel that under the cloak of religion, or rather under that of theology, he was adding to the long list

¹ Vol. iii.; viii. 91 (Danett's edition, 1596).

² In a letter to the Electoral Prince of Mayence, June 25, 1689, the Emperor speaks of the King of France and the Sultan as the two hereditary enemies of Christ. "Hitherto the Turk was designated the hereditary enemy of Christ, or simply the hereditary enemy, but in this letter the Emperor speaks for the first time of the two hereditary enemies" (*Lettres de Busy-Rabutin*, iii. 26, Aug. 12, 1689).

of crimes that have stained the pages of history. A strong appeal was sent to Innocent. "We are glad to see by a brief from your Holiness," writes Louis on the 1st of February 1689, "that your Holiness is persuaded of the great prejudice that the Catholic religion will suffer from the state in which the King of Great Britain is placed, and to see the interest which your Holiness takes in his re-establishment. Your devoted son, the King of France and Navarre—Louis."¹ Queen Mary of Modena wrote vigorously to her uncle, Cardinal d'Este, begging him to arouse the Pontiff to the urgent necessity of a European crusade on behalf of her husband. "Would God that this event might do some good," she writes on the 1st of February, "in putting an end to all the misunderstanding that can exist among the Catholic Princes, and that all might unite together in defence of our holy faith ; since, in truth, it would be a shame that all the Protestant Princes should exert themselves and agree together to advance their false religion while the Catholics, instead of uniting to defend it, go on fighting against each other. I am sure that, when his Holiness is fully informed of the miserable condition in which we and all the Catholics of our kingdom are situated, he will be moved to compassion and do his utmost to relieve it."² James despatched Colonel Porter to Rome to plead his cause there, trusting that "his Holiness will do all he can for peace among the Catholic princes, so that the most Christian King may be in a position to assist my return to my kingdom and, to tell the truth, to save the Catholic religion from being exterminated."³ His indefatigable queen enlisted the zealous efforts of the Order of Jesus, and complained to the General "of the strange policy of those princes . . . who pretend that religion plays no part in our misfortunes, and have therefore not ceased to treat us as enemies."⁴ James now

¹ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 487.

² *Ibid.* ii. 488.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 489. James recommends to his envoy the closest possible understanding with the ministers of the King of France. "For our interests and those of our beloved brother of France are throughout the same," *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. ii. No. 5.

⁴ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 493.

begged the Emperor as the secular head of Christendom to intervene, for the moment forgetting the character of his own mediation when Leopold was in difficulties. "The various circumstances of our afflicted condition call urgently for your Majesty's support and help. . . . Each one by itself will easily persuade your Majesty not only to come and help us, so that we may regain the kingdoms which are ours by . . . right, but also to bring help to the Catholic religion and the holy Church in this perilous storm and ward off those ills which threaten the Church, the spouse of Christ, by an alliance of heretics."¹ Leopold remembered what the two sovereigns affected to forget, and his reply on the 9th of April puts his case for abstention concisely and cogently: "We leave it to your Majesty to judge whether the present state of our affairs will allow us to give you any assistance. For we are not only engaged in a war with the Turks, but we have also just been subjected to a most savage and unjust war as well by the French against their pledged faith, as soon as they thought themselves secure from England. For we consider that we ought not to hide from your Majesty that our religion has suffered no greater injury from any one than from the French themselves, who not only think it no shame to ally their fatal arms with the sworn foes of the Holy Cross to the ruin of ourselves and of Christendom, but also to heap up perfidy on perfidy, to seize cities in the Palatinate against their oath, and emulate the Turks in the barbarity of their warfare."² The answer of the Emperor had been anticipated by a diet that met at Ratisbon in February. "The fallen King wishes," maintained the Protestant princes of Germany, "for the sake of religion, to rouse the Pope, the Emperor, and all the Catholic Princes together, to arms against the Prince of Orange and the Dutch, who have already given their word that they mean no hostility to the Catholic religion. For France it is not a question of religion but of dominion, and therefore she treads down the Catholic Princes in Germany in the same way

¹ *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 497-498.

² *Ibid.* ii. 500.

as she does the Protestant.”¹ The failure that marked the attempts of the fallen sovereign in Germany attended his efforts at Rome. Colonel Porter reported that his negotiations had proved fruitless, and in April a reply at last reached James. “The Pope, as the common Father of Christendom, has learnt with deep sorrow of the sudden and unexpected misfortune of the King of England. Yet he must consider as the real source of trouble, the inseparable Alliance of King James with the King of France and his attempts to imitate King Louis. . . . Therefore, the Pope can in no way supply King James with money.”² James had sown the seeds of Gallicanism in England and when he reaped the harvest it was not at all to his liking. It was unmistakable, even to him, that this Pontifical reply was final. There was no hope from Rome because he had hoped in France. It was obvious to the least intelligent observer that the so-called religious crusade was in its essence political. The effort to cover a secular dress with the cloak of religion demonstrated to all Europe, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, the oneness of its interests with William’s. Leopold pierced the thin disguise and declined to assist James, for this practically meant helping Louis, his detested rival. What the Emperor desired with all his soul was not a war for the religion of Louis or James, but a genuine political crusade against the faithlessness of France. For this political crusade one man was pre-eminently fitted, and that man was William. He had shown that he could place political reasons above religious motives, for he promised to tolerate Roman Catholics in the land of

¹ Klopp, iv. 333.

² *Ibid.* iv. 413. Cf. Macpherson. Louis wrote to Avaux, April $\frac{13}{3}$, 1689: “I wish that the letters which he (*i.e.* James) has written to all the princes of Europe to inform them of his arrival in Ireland, would procure for him the supplies of money that he asks from them; but the Pope sets so bad an example to all the other Catholic princes that we can scarcely hope that they, any more than he, will do what might displease the enemies of the said King (*i.e.* James).” M. de Croissy wrote to Avaux, May $\frac{18}{8}$, 1689: “There is nothing to hope from the obstinacy of the Pope in favour of the enemies of France.”

his adoption. He had warned Leopold that though in outward seeming his expedition was directed against Roman Catholicism, it was really against the king or rather against the system the king represented.¹ The issue had proved how true this declaration was, and the Emperor sent him hearty thanks for his protection of the Roman Catholics of England against the fury of the mob!² The Pope cordially supported the imperial alliance with William, for he aimed at the humiliation of France, and he cared little whether this was brought about by Roman Catholic or by Protestant means.³ Instead of the religious crusade headed by the Pope and the Emperor, Louis is met with the Grand Alliance signed at Vienna, between William as Stadtholder of Holland and Leopold, on the 12th of May 1689, against the policy of France. William bound himself to secure Germany against future aggressions by Louis, and Leopold undertook to support William from attack in Holland. England and Spain were also to join this league.⁴

James could not but recognize how powerfully this alliance must act in upsetting his plans for his successful return to England directly or to England by way of Ireland. In the middle of his depression came the welcome news of the death of one who might be called, from his standpoint, the Protestant Pope. In August 1689 Innocent passed away, and in October Alexander VIII. was elected to fill the vacant throne. In haste James sought to impress favourably the new Pontiff. In his letter from Ireland he urged that "the only cause of all the rebellion against me is my championship of the Catholic religion, my endeavour to resettle it in my kingdoms and in America."⁵ Leopold also tried to put the importance of his case before Alexander VIII. The Pope could not send much to either claimant, but though he refused help to James at first, in the end he gave the Emperor and the exile the same subsidy.⁶ Unfortunately for James, the hostile relations between Rome and Ver-

¹ Avaux, p. 170; Macpherson, i. 299. The Austrian Court ordered public prayers to be offered for the success of William's expedition to England.

² Klopp, iv. 413.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 330, 419.

⁴ Koch and Schoell, i. 160.

⁵ Klopp, v. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 14, 18.

sailles still continued to exist. The situation was growing less grave, for Avignon and the privileges of the French ambassador at Rome had been surrendered. These, however, were but small concessions. The offensive Articles of 1682 still remained in existence; until they had been expunged there could be no true peace with Rome.¹

The Pontificate of Alexander VIII. lasted but a brief space, and at his decease another Innocent was elected. The twelfth of that name proved to be of a type far different from the eleventh. He desired peace, and his desire was so strong that he was willing to pay almost any price for it. But in the issue the peaceful tendencies of the twelfth did as much harm to the exile as the warlike tendencies of his great predecessor. Since the only hope to James lay in a disturbance of the existing equilibrium, it is easy to understand that the rôle of the head of Christendom in promoting peace and goodwill among men was not likely to meet with his approval. Under the new regime the second counter-Reformation, as engineered by Louis and James, could make but little progress. While little aid came from Rome to the Stuart, less came from Vienna. In 1692 the Emperor, building better than he knew, took a step which effectually blocked the way to the return of the fallen dynasty. For in that year he created the Electorate of Hanover, which pledged Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, the new Elector, and Leopold to each other, so that when George, the succeeding Elector, eventually became claimant to the English throne, he found strong support in the Emperor and his sons.² A faint ray of hope came to James from the better relationship which had begun to exist between the Vatican and the French court. As the Articles of Louis XI. had been withdrawn, so now those of Louis XIV. disappeared. After lengthy negotiations the agreement was made that the French bishops were to regard the Articles as if they never had existed, and Louis was not to expect his subjects to act upon them.³ This withdrawal led to a much better

¹ Brosch, i. 449.

² Droysen, iv. 1. 120-137.

³ Brosch, i. 451.

understanding on the part of the French with Rome, but James did not draw much profit from it.

If James did not profit much from the better understanding, Louis had not drawn much profit so far from his guest. In the east he had tried to use James as a means of breaking up the alliance between William and Leopold, and the attempt had signally failed. It now began to dawn upon him that the strength of the alliance lay in William and that to break it he must crush the cool Dutchman, in whom he was to find a foeman worthy of his steel. Joseph II. was accustomed to keep a portrait of Frederick the Great in every apartment he occupied, on the ground that it was well to have such a man always before your eyes. For a similar reason, instead of his famous military paintings at Versailles, a likeness of William in his rooms might have usefully reminded Louis of the stern, indomitable figure of his doughty antagonist. The masterful glance of that eagle eye, the massive strength of that haughty countenance, with its inscrutable reserve, would have spoken of an opponent whom it were folly to ignore and dangerous to despise. Louis, with a greater measure of discernment into William's character than he actually proved to possess, might have realised that the silver streak dividing his land from England was to be the theatre of a life-and-death struggle. Misled, however, by the obstinate prepossessions of a mind working intensely but in narrow grooves, he failed to grasp the real nature and requirements of the situation, especially on its naval side. It occurred to him, however, that here he could make an excellent use of James. The French king had negotiated secret treaties and had expended millions of livres in the attempt to control *la haute politique* and to make the Channel a cipher in European politics. By the flight of James all his careful efforts had come to nothing. His power, like that of Napoleon's in later days, seemed akin to that of the witch, for when he came to water all his influence vanished. As it had been in the past, so it proved to be in the future. The nine years' war was to be waged, and his exertions to make the

naval power of France supreme in the Channel met with failure. Mary's bridegroom brought no territory to England, but he conveyed a gift incomparably more important, and this was nothing less than the control of both coasts of the Channel. The gift was a strange one for a Dutchman to offer, since it meant that in the days to come England must increase and Holland must decrease. The lesson is a stern one for individuals to learn, and it is equally difficult for nations to master. Could William have pierced the future, one wonders what his feelings would have been on perceiving that one day the Dutch fleet would vanish before the might of the English.¹ He remembered the glorious days of De Witt and Van Tromp and had heard in his boyish days—but was William ever a boy?—how his countrymen had flaunted their power in the Thames. Dr. Cunningham has taught us that at the end of the seventeenth century Englishmen looked to Holland for instruction, and in no particular perhaps is this more true than in naval matters. William saw that he who controlled the Channel in the last resort controlled England, and he resolutely directed his attention to the maintenance of his mastery in those waters. What was plain to the sight of the English king was invisible to the distorted vision of the French king. For “France nurtured her greatest enemy in herself. This was Louvois, the author and soul of all the land wars, because he was minister for war and because in jealousy of Colbert, he wished to ruin him in exhausting his finances and upsetting his power.”² This hostility of Louvois pursued not only Colbert, who was in charge of the admiralty as well as of the finances, but also Colbert's son, the Marquis of Seignelay, who in 1683 succeeded to his father's office.³ From the days of Colbert to the days of Dupleix, and later, this jealousy of officers, rivals when they ought to be colleagues, has been the curse of France. Every French military historian knows how

¹ If we can trust William's conversations with Montanus, he had realised before 1688 that the inclusion of England in the alliance must benefit her shipping and commerce at the expense of his native land.

² St. Simon, xii. 25.

³ Guérin, *Histoire maritime de France*, iii. 384, 471.

largely petty jealousies, professional rivalries, and personal animosities contributed to the disasters which overtook the gallant French troops in the last war with Germany. Since the death of Mazarin, Louis had acted, not altogether unsuccessfully, as his own Prime Minister. On land his direction had met with a large measure of prosperity, for he had been ably seconded by a succession of able generals and brilliant field-m Marshals in the earlier years of his reign, though the latter years spoke eloquently of the dearth of such men. At sea he floundered hopelessly, and he had few admirals to rescue him. Unlike Napoleon, he never possessed that mastery of naval principles and details essential to one who aspires to direct naval policy. A wrong number of ships at Dunkirk, an underestimate of naval stores at Brest, passed undetected so far as Louis was concerned.

The union of Holland and England under one head gave William the control of three territories divided by two pieces of water. Between his native land and England lay the English Channel, and between England and Ireland the Irish Channel. On the control of these two narrow straits the success of the combination against Louis depended, for whoever held these seas must prove ultimately the master of Europe. If William succeeded in retaining it, the ascendancy of France must become a thing of the past, and England, or rather William, must take its place. The silver circle of the sea preserved England from all danger of an invasion by land, though Holland lay open to a land attack through Belgium. In order to make his position impregnable it was as necessary for William to secure the safety of Belgium as it was to hold the narrow seas. "The Republic cannot," held William, "lose Belgium its proper bulwark; for with its loss we are left open to the daily menaces of France."¹ For nine years the struggle goes on. Nominally the King of France is supporting the exiled Monarch in his attempt to regain his crown, and to drive the usurper away. Really there is a life-and-death struggle proceeding between

¹ Klopp, ii. 428.

William and Louis and on its results depends the answer to the all-important question, Is Europe to be ruled by the tyrant or is it to be allowed to develop freely? It is not perhaps deeply interesting to watch the intrigues of William and Louis to secure Belgium for themselves. The interest in the event is spoiled by the knowledge of its after history. Yet we must confess, for our part, that the yellow manuscripts, recording these things, possess a wonderful fascination. Behind these schemes, underlying these intrigues, there rests the deep problem of what the future of Europe was to be, and all these plans—though many of them perished as they were born, some disappeared even in embryo—helped or hindered that future. When we read in the manuscripts the sealed orders to an admiral here and a captain there to mobilise his fleet or to sail his ship to another quarter, we are sometimes wearied. But at the bottom of all these commands there hinges the struggle for the supremacy of the Channel. If Louis gained control, despotism confronted Europe, while if William secured it, freedom would have every opportunity of asserting itself. At first sight it appears as if the open-hearted Louis is generously assisting a brother monarch who had fallen upon evil times. The theatrical scene of farewell at St. Germain's imposes on the hasty reader who has not studied the secret history of the time.¹ But when he has consulted the documents, now yellow with age, which reveal that secret history, he at once revises his estimate of French generosity. For then it becomes patent that the seeming generosity of Louis was in reality the outcome of studied ostentation and calculating selfishness, and that in the soul of the great Bourbon, with all his brilliance, there shone none of that pure zeal for liberty which gleamed so persistently in the breast of his less showy rival.² There have been many duels in history from the

¹ Madame de Sévigné, February 28, 1689: "Le Roi lui a donné des armes pour armer dix mille hommes; et lui disant adieu, il dit au Roi, en riant, qu'il n'avait oublié qu'une chose, c'était des armes pour sa personne; le Roi lui a donné les siennes; nos romans ne faisaient rien de plus galant. Que ne fera point ce roi brave et malheureux avec ces armes toujours victorieuses?"

Perhaps we may echo the question, "What did he do with them?" Certainly not what Louis intended.

² Klopp, viii. 487: "For the tradition which Louis managed to spread abroad around

days of Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI. to the days of William and Louis, but seldom has such a fight possessed the far-reaching interest of the present one. Apparently the combat lies between William and James, but really the principals are William and Louis. James played but a minor part in this struggle, though he thought, and in fact was to some extent led by Louis to believe, that he was a principal actor in the drama then being unfolded on the stage of history. As such he wanted to attack his successor directly in England, and so bring matters at once to a head. It was Louis, however, who really directed the strategy of this campaign, and his aim was to weaken, not to destroy, his enemy. He wanted England to be so occupied with its internal troubles that it would have no time to spare for what happened in or across the Channel. In days gone by Richelieu had employed such methods in Scotland, and they had prolonged the civil war. Though Louis broke away from the Cardinal's policy at sea, still on land he paid him the tribute of imitating his plans. What Richelieu had done in Scotland he might do in Ireland. He felt more drawn to the latter country than to the former. So far back as 1666 he had received an offer from some Irish Roman Catholics of the submission of their country if they were aided in their attempt to throw off the yoke of England.¹ Now Tyrconnel made a similar offer, and this, harmonising with French plans, determined him to send James to Ireland. If James went to England, he might succeed at once or he might fail. The expedition of Monmouth enjoyed but a short career. If he went to Ireland, France had in 1689 still control of the sea, and supplies to William could be blocked on the initiative of France. In the Irish venture the governing motive is not the desire to seat James on his throne, but to make the

him, that he was the magnanimous protector of the House of Stuart against the Orange persecutor has become a kind of national French dogma and is announced by an immense literature. This tradition is in sharp contrast to the fact that Louis XIV. used the House of Stuart as an instrument in order to cripple the power of England at home and to make it innoxious to his plan, and that therefore Louis, instead of being the magnanimous protector, in reality sacrificed the House of Stuart to the aims of his policy."

¹ Guérin, iii. 71. De Witt made a similar suggestion in 1666, *Cambridge Modern History*, v. 110.

wearing of the crown as uncomfortable as possible to William. France would best be served by a long-continued and desultory warfare, rendering William incapable of action in Europe and making the Channel still a cipher.¹ For the understanding of Irish history from 1688 to 1691, in fact to 1701, this is perhaps the most vital fact to be borne in mind. All work done in foreign archives, notably in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, proves beyond the possibility of a doubt that Louis in sending James to Ireland was really playing his own game. The slender number of ships sent with James at the outset points to this conclusion, as does also the small number of troops despatched. Louis had promised 6000 at first, and he cut this small number down, for "reflecting that those same Catholics of Ireland might have feared that he wished to put France in possession of that Kingdom, he said that he would only give 2000!"² The policy of Louis seemed eminently calculated to advance the designs he had in view. Yet he made the mistake that a clever man often commits when he has to work with a stupid tool. He told James so much of his policy as suited his own ends, and for obvious reasons he could not fully disclose the working of his mind. James went to Ireland convinced that its conquest was to be but the prelude to that of England. Louis sent him to Ireland with the object, not of winning either it or England, but of wasting the time and spending the strength of William. The last thought in the mind of the French monarch was that the struggle might be shifted from Ireland to England. The farther away from his own shores the struggle was to take place the better pleased he would be. His fleet still exercised a large amount of control over sea power, yet no obstacles were placed in the way of Schomberg landing at Bangor on the 30th of August 1689. The foolish English were surely stepping into the trap he was carefully preparing for them.

The winter too showed that events were proceeding exactly as he wished.³ Schomberg and James were

¹ Klopp, iv. 461-462.

² *Campana de Cavelli*, ii. 256.

³ *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. i., fol. No. 77, "As the success (of France) is great in Ireland, the Auxbourg League grows weak."

encamped close to one another, but nothing more than slight skirmishes took place. His Fabian policy of masterly inactivity must inevitably win the day for Louis and his schemes, for, if nothing decisive ensued, sooner or later William must feel it to be his duty to go to Ireland, and, once there, Louis must see to it that sufficient occupation was provided for him for a decidedly lengthy period. In 1690 William saw that events had reached a crisis in Ireland, and that his presence was imperatively required. He therefore resolved to set out for Carrickfergus in order to bring matters to a clear and final issue.¹ We can conceive the exultation with which the news of his departure was received in Versailles. The astuteness of the French monarch was going to meet with the success it deserved, for William was destined in the mind of Louis to remain there eight or ten years, and this absence from Europe left the way open to Holland by way of Belgium, practically destroyed the alliance with Leopold, and ensured the triumph of Louis's plans in Spain. Accordingly orders were given to the French fleet that William was to be allowed to cross without molestation of any kind, and on the 24th of June he touched Irish soil at Carrickfergus. Events now moved rapidly. James was eager to meet the usurper and to tear the crown from his brow. He was not—nay, he could not be—privy to the dark plot his master had been weaving, and he determined to fight. His French counsellors, in the interests of Louis, urged him to wait some time longer before he embarked on a decisive contest, but their pleadings were in vain. On the 1st of July 1690 the Battle of the Boyne was fought. The defeat completely upset the plans of France, for William could now return to England with the prestige of a notable victory, and hardly anything did more to consolidate the new monarch in London than this event.

¹ Klopp, v. 44, 93. *Ibid.* 53. French policy "desired first and before all else the continuance of the war in Ireland, not the end of it, whatever the decision might be."

Writing under date, Wednesday, March 2, 1689, Madame de Sévigné says: "Nous espérons que la guerre d'Irlande fera une puissante diversion, et empêchera le prince d'Orange de nous tourmenter par des descentes. Ainsi tous nos trois cent mille hommes sur pied, toutes nos armées si bien placées partout, ne serviront qu'à faire craindre et redouter le Roi; sans que personne ose l'attaquer."

Louis had meant to take England on his way to Spain, but "the Great Deliverer" had, in Halifax's pregnant remark, "taken England on his way to France." Moreover he was—and this was a terrible thought to Louis—now free to cross the Channel, and to hamper the designs of his rival. These results were sufficiently serious, and to add to the pangs the French king experienced, he could reflect on the thought that he might have prevented them, since he could have hindered William landing at all. The lack of French support overthrew James and rendered possible the first Grand Alliance which checked Louis's advance eastwards. Had he really considered the interests of James and guarded the Irish coasts with a strong fleet, William might have been beaten at sea. He had lost control of the sea communications—in truth he had made no serious effort to retain such control—and because of this loss Ireland had been torn from his grasp. After the second siege of Limerick never more could he use Ireland as a means of effectively attacking England in the rear. The opportunity to crush William had been given but not taken, and lost opportunities do not recur.

Nevertheless, hope still rose in the breast of the French monarch. For if James could not keep William engaged in Ireland, he might keep him employed in England. The Irish Channel had been decisively closed by his folly, but the English Channel still remained open. The day before the Battle of the Boyne, Admiral Tourville, with seventy-five men-of-war, met the combined fleets of England and Holland off Beachy Head and decisively overmastered them.¹ Seignelay meant this victory to be the beginning and not the end of the naval power of his nation. To some extent the mantle of Richelieu had fallen upon him, and he desired to secure the Channel with a view to the destruction of English commerce and the harrying of the coast towns. Churchill—the great Marlborough that was to be—when at Cork evinced his fears that the French might pursue such a policy, and he warned the committee at home of the grave dangers that might flow from it.

¹ Guérin, iii. 453.

Some of James's old courage and insight temporarily returned to him, and after the reverse at the Boyne he urged that a landing should be effected in England while William was still in Ireland. It was a bold plan, and events at the time favoured it. The news of the French victory off Beachy Head, 1690, combined with the intelligence of the French defeat of the Dutch at Fleurus, had caused a wave of depression over England. It was well known that many of William's supporters were in constant communication with James. A feeling of uncertainty and of distrust swept over the nation, and at that moment anything might have happened. Fortunately for England Louis was thinking almost exclusively of his own schemes. He was looking to his chances of over-running Belgium, an enterprise for which the times seemed propitious. He never understood the possibilities of the naval situation, and he allowed the golden opportunity to slip past him. Since James wanted to go to England, he must, if he were to gain French help, prove that his friends were ready to rise on his behalf. "The plan of a landing in England was certainly present in the minds of Louis and his counsellors, but undeveloped and incomplete, and dependent on the essential condition of a previous Jacobite rising in England itself. This was the great point of difference between the two kings. James expected the rising would follow as soon as he set foot on English soil. Louis required the rising first."¹ By this policy the French were shorn of the advantages that ought to have accrued to them from the triumph off Beachy Head. The design of James had been frustrated, and the only result was the burning of Teignmouth, and this act made him intensely unpopular in England. In 1691 Tourville cruised about the English Channel and refused to give Russell the opportunity of fighting.²

In the following year the question of the mastery of the Channel was finally set at rest. James again begged Louis to make preparations for a descent into England, and the latter was not unwilling, provided it could be

¹ Klopp, v. 162.

² Guérin, iv. 5-6.

shown that a rising in the country would take place.¹ Here we once more see that the French sovereign is more anxious for the triumph of his own plans than for the success of his ally's. It is evident that he still retains his old plan of using the double kingdom as pieces in the Spanish game. To him the continental aspect of matters is all-important, while the state of affairs as it presented itself to James is comparatively unimportant. With his invincible naval ignorance he failed to see that the real issue concerned not these islands but the water that encircled them. Unfortunately for France, Seignelay, who had some glimmerings of this knowledge, died in 1691, and Louis having lost a man with some genius had to supply his place as best he could with superior clerks like Pontchartrain and Philippeaux.² "The first of the Colberts had created everything out of nothing, the second of the Pontchartrains was to turn everything into nothing."³ James's plans received a grave set-back though the preparations still went on. A union was effected of the Toulouse fleet under d'Estrées and the Brest fleet under Tourville, and troops were despatched to Normandy. A wind, perhaps another "Protestant" wind, checked the union, and in the meantime the Dutch and the English fleet had joined. On the 29th of May 1692, with forty-four men-of-war, Tourville was forced to fight the combined fleet of ninety-nine off Cape La Hogue. The results of that fateful day were the practical disappearance of the French fleet from English waters, and the real beginnings of English naval power.⁴ The combined result of the battles off Beachy Head and La Hogue was to drive James completely away from the western side of the Channel. For the future the efforts of the French at sea were confined to the attacks of French privateers on English commerce. The south of Ireland and the south of England were incessantly visited by hostile ships and trade suffered severe damage. For the future no French

¹ Macpherson, *Original Papers*, i. 400.

² Guérin, iii. 471; iv. 4. 106.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 105, iv. 14; Klopp, vi. 63.

⁴ Guérin, iv. 16; Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History*, 189.

fleet could sail in either the English or the Irish Channel, since at last William had grasped the supreme control of both straits; and thereafter the English fleets in the two Channels scarcely ever saw an unfriendly man-of-war on the horizon. If the king over the water was ever to come into his own again he must defeat the fleets that had defeated Tourville. To James must have come the poignant reflection that the navy, which he as head of the Admiralty had done more than most men to strengthen, was to prove the barrier in the way of his return. Unconsciously he had prepared the means of his final defeat. Unconsciously too Louis had contributed to the same result. For specially from 1688 onwards he had kept the claims of his own House to Spain paramount, while those of the House of Stuart were treated as secondary. Not for years did Louis perceive the utter folly of sacrificing his naval supremacy. In 1701 it struck him how grievous was the error he had committed. When asked in that year to despatch an expedition to the assistance of James he had no trouble in demonstrating that "it would be difficult to execute it in the presence of a great fleet."¹ Thus by his short-sighted policy with regard to the importance of naval affairs did Louis help powerfully to bring about the decline of his latter days. William, by wresting from him the command of the seas, compelled him for ever to renounce his claim of being the dictator of Europe and the so-called champion of the Roman Catholic interests in England and Ireland.

¹ Gualterio, 20, 242, 28 (Brit. Mus.).

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS FOR THE REVOLUTION

AN important letter of some eight pages folio, written by Tyrconnel to Beatrice Mary, James's queen,—though obviously meant for James himself,—shows the absolute dependence of Ireland upon France.¹ "I find by what I can gather by Monsieur Ponty's discourse that the King his master is well enough disposed to succour us with arms and ammunition, but I find him very indifferent upon that article which most concerns us, and of which we stand in the greatest need, which is money, and without which this kingdom must be infallibly lost. True it is that with arms and ammunition I may assemble a considerable body of naked men together without clothes, but having no money to subsist, all the order and care I can take will not hinder the ruin of the country nor a famine before midsummer."² He goes on to point out in terse language that "London hath already furnished the Prince of Orange with £300,000 for the reduction of this kingdom," and he insists that there ought to be sent to him "before the middle of March at the farthest 500,000 crowns in cash, which with our own industry, shall serve us for a year." This practical soldier draws up a list of his requirements. He asks his correspondents "to send me besides the 8,000 firearms already sent 6,000 matchlocks more and 5,000 firelocks. To send me at least 12,000 swords. To send me 2,000 carbines, and as many cases of pistols and holsters. To send me a

¹ The date of this letter is January 29, 1688⁸/₉.

² Add. 28,053, f. 386 (Brit. Mus.). *The Leeds Official Correspondence.*

good number of officers to train" (*i.e.* to train the Irish volunteers).¹ He endeavours to impress upon them that the situation brooks of no delay, and he deems that an old naval administrator like James ought to be aware of this.² "If I could but procure £10,000," he pleads, "to march about 6,000 men to disarm and unhorse your enemies, I could soon after master this Kingdom. . . . By this your Majesty sees the miserable condition of this place, when I cannot raise such a sum upon the credit of your Majesty's whole revenue and my own estate. Money must be sent out of hand or all is lost. If you come not over yourself (which I hope you will) money and all those other things must come incessantly, and all the officers you can send. Pray send away all those that went out of England into France; for I want officers as much as money. . . . A good Lieutenant General for the foot, and a good Major General must be sent."

This correspondence sets in a clear light how much the Irish expectations rested on French aid, and yet how afraid Tyrconnel was that these expectations were not destined to be realised. "Not a farthing of silver or gold is now to be seen in this whole nation. I do avow I have been as much deceived in the hopes with which hitherto I have flattered myself that the King of France would spare nothing to preserve a Catholic country, by which he, as well as your Majesty, might very well count upon great advantages in some reasonable time. If your Majesty will in person come over hither and bring with you those succours, which may not exceed the present allowance given you there (which as I hear is 200,000 livres a month) with arms, ammunition, and some officers (a particular whereof is here enclosed as well as to my lord Melford)³ I will be responsible to you that you shall entirely be the master of this kingdom and of everything in it; and I beg of you to consider whether you can with honour continue where you are when you may possess a

¹ The whole of the next page is torn.

² Clarke, *James II.* i. 407-413.

³ Add. 28,053 gives no particulars sent to either the Queen or Melford.

kingdom of your own plentiful of all things for human life."

This strong appeal is supported by a careful review of the state of the four provinces, and this he finds to be eminently favourable to James's prospects of success. Leinster comes first under observation. "The Catholics of Dublin may be guessed to be equal to in number all other religions there (not including the soldiers who are all Catholics). The Catholics in the rest of the province are forty to one of the people of all other persuasions." In Munster he reckons the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants to be forty to one, and in Connaught to be 200 to one. "The Catholics of Ulster are not so considerable by reason of the greater number of Scotch Presbyterians there, yet may be thought to be as many as all the rest. All the Catholics are unanimous and most zealously affected to your Majesty's service." Tyrconnel's satisfaction, however, does not extend to the non-Roman Catholic population, for he says "amongst the Protestants generally tainted with the ill principles of England, there are not in the whole Kingdom a hundred that may be relied on to serve your Majesty."

From his survey of possible recruits he proceeds to give a short account of the actual troops. In the army there are "four regiments of old troops, and one battalion of the regiment of Guards, three regiments of horse with one troop of Grenadiers on horseback. I have lately given out commissions for nearly forty regiments of foot, four regiments of Dragoons, and two of horse, all which amount to near 40,000 men, who are all unclothed and the greater part unarmed, and are to be subsisted by their several officers until the last of February next, out of their own purses, to the ruin of most of them; but after that day I see no possibility for arming them, clothing them, or subsisting them for the future, but abandoning the country to them; but after all if I may be supplied by the last of March with those succours that are necessary which I press in my letters, I doubt not but I shall preserve this kingdom entirely for your Majesty."

Here the next leaf is torn off at the top but there are indications that Tyrconnel went on to give a list of the forts and ports of Ireland, and that he laid special stress on the value of the harbours in the south of the island. His French bias is perceptible in the concluding portion of this luminous account. "For my part I could wish Galway and Waterford or any other ports of this kingdom were put into the King of France's hands for security of repaying him his money . . . by which means he may be the more willing to supply us and may fortify those places upon his own charge, and keep them. This I humbly offer but my fears are *you* will not be at that expense.¹ Pray consider if we cannot live without three or four light frigates upon this coast, which I will find all sorts of provision for, but money I have none for them, nor for the French officers they shall send us from thence. Let them be advanced six months' pay. Remember your 500,000 crowns in money must be sent and all things else in the memoir, and that delay is destruction to this kingdom and that the 200,000 livres a month which you are allowed there applied to this kingdom will support yourself and Ireland against all your enemies." On the 12th of December 1689 he writes again, this time to both James and his Queen, but his letter is in the main a recapitulation of the earlier letter from which our extracts are taken.²

This is the report of the virtual Viceroy of Ireland, for such Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, undoubtedly was. All his life he had been the able opponent of the liberties of England. When nineteen years of age he had fought against Oliver Cromwell at Drogheda, and when fair means failed he proved willing to employ foul, for he eagerly sought an opportunity of assassinating the great Protector.³ His services were at the disposal of Charles II. and his brother James, then Duke of York. When the latter wanted to break his promise of marriage to Anne Hyde, Talbot undertook to blacken her character, and, on the failure of the attempt, it is astonishing to find

¹ *You* is underlined in the MSS.

² Add. 28,053 (Brit. Mus.).

³ *Ormonde Letters*, ii. 70.

that the duke kept him as his friend. Perhaps the help he gave James in his love affairs accounted for this singular result.¹ Like his brother Gilbert he had been a noted duellist, for he did not lack personal courage.² At court he used his influence on behalf of his countrymen, who had suffered under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, but he took care that he was well paid for all he did.³ His skill in gambling also swelled his income, which reached some three thousand pounds a year. When the duke became king he did not forget his boon companion and he set him the task of re-organising Ireland on an absolutist basis.⁴ The Earl of Tyrconnel—the king had elevated him to the peerage—boasted freely that the Roman Catholics would soon be in power and would then pay off old scores.⁵ Dining with Clarendon the day after his arrival he burst out, “By God, my lord, these Acts of Settlement and this new interest are damned things; we know all those arts and damned roguish contrivances which procured those acts.”⁶ His policy was clear-sighted, though not far-sighted. It was, in the language of Roman law, a leonine contract, by which he took everything from the colonist and gave nothing. His report to Mary of Modena reveals his deep attachment to France, and we can supplement it by the views of an officer in the service, John Stevens, who wrote *A Journal of my Travels since the Revolution*.⁷ Stevens was a profound student of the language and literature of Portugal and Spain. In this respect he ranks as the predecessor of Southey, Stirling-Maxwell, and Ticknor. Even now his translations of Quevedo, and of the historians Mariana and Sandoval, deserve perusal, and though they do not rank with such masterpieces as the Authorised Version of the Bible, Chapman’s *Homer*, Pope’s *Homer*, Jowett’s *Plato*, and FitzGerald’s *Omar Khayyám*, Stevens renders faithfully the soul of the

¹ Burnet, i. 227.

² *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Rep., p. 147.

³ *Ibid.* 15th Rep., i. 110; *Jacobite Narrative*, p. 156.

⁴ King, *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, App. p. 41.

⁵ *The Clarendon and Rochester Correspondence*, i. 198.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 432, 451, 464.

⁷ Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.).

original. His interest in history was not confined to the past, for he helped to make it. He had left England on the 11th of January 1688, and, after visiting St. Germain, was sent to Ireland, where he became a lieutenant in the regiment of the Grand Priory, then under the command of the Duke of Berwick. "As I do not pretend," he modestly begins, "to write a history or give an account of the particular transactions of the time, but only as far as I am concerned, or where I was present myself, so having given much time in speaking of my private affairs it will not be amiss to set down some few observations of the general state of affairs.

"At my arrival in Ireland the face of affairs was such as seemed to promise a generous success to our undertakings, speedy restoration to the King, and a glorious reward to all our sufferings. Londonderry and Enniskillen seemed rather despairing of pardon . . . than to hope to withstand his Majesty's army. Enniskillen was not looked upon as a place of consideration, having received little addition of strength from art. Its fate depended wholly upon Londonderry and the conquest of the one would produce the surrender of the other. Londonderry was reputed a place of no great strength, having only a bare wall without any outworks to support it, the garrison was raw and undisciplined, full of divisions, subject to no command; the multitude within was great and provisions were very short. In this assurance of our own strength and the enemies' weakness, the English exile flattered himself with the thought of a speedy return to his country, and the Irish proprietor thought of nothing but entering upon his estates and driving out the new possessor."

Nevertheless in a somewhat complacent tone Stevens observes, "I have no pretension to the spirit of prophecy, but scarce any misfortune has befallen us but what I have foreseen." One is irresistably reminded of the words of the Duke of Wellington when he wished that his critics had been present before the event in order that he might then have had the benefit of their advice. The writer takes safer ground when he complains of "the insolence of the

rapparrees, destroying millions of cattle for the sake of the hide and tallow." He notes that they often slew the cows belonging to families they disliked, a feature that is also evident in the depositions of the rebels of 1641. In fact the fight between England and France is sometimes forgotten in the desire to avenge family wrongs. His observation agrees with the experience of many of the great leaders of irregulars from the days of Cromwell to those of Washington, for he deplores the loss his side suffers from deserters, and points out the difficulty in keeping such men together for a lengthy period of time. "The want of discipline and experience, which we conceived in our enemies, and which made us despise them, was the heaviest misfortune we laboured under ourselves. Most of them never fired a musket in their lives." That he shared the contempt of a trained soldier like Lauzun for the Irish irregulars is evident. "Besides their natural uncouthness they are stubborn and conceited, to be governed with rigour and severity, not to be wrought upon with lenity and gentleness; they respect and love the officer that beats them daily without mercy. They follow none but their own leaders . . . to the utter ruin of the army. The officers knew no more than their men, and consequently understood as little how to exercise or train them.

"For want of arms most of the army were taught the little they learnt with sticks, and when they came to handle pike or musket they were to begin again. Many regiments were sent upon service who had never fired a shot, ammunition being kept so choice. It is hard to guess when these men were upon action whether their own or the enemies fire was most terrible to them.

"The Commanders often wanted valour to lead on, or conduct to post men to advantage, but through ignorance have run themselves into dangers, and then cowardly and basely have been the first that betook themselves to shameful flight. I have known a Commander preferred for quitting his post while a poor soldier suffered for the same . . . particularly in the defeat of Lord Mountcashel." He speaks in cordial terms of the usefulness of the private,

“but the officers were only those from the plough, from the following of cows, from digging potatoes, and such-like exercises. Because they had a few men to follow them, or bore the name of a good family, they were put into commissions, without experience, without conduct, without authority, and without even the sense of honour.”¹ Avaux confirms this estimate of the Irish officer, for he writes to Louis that “La plupart de ces regimens sont levez par dez gentils hommes qui n’ont jamais esté à l’armée.” The captains, however, “sont des tailleurs, des bouchers, des cordonniers, qui ont formé les compagnies.”

“Princes are said to see and hear all things, but they see with other men’s eyes and hear with other men’s ears. The experienced officers of England and France were laid aside”—perhaps the writer had suffered this bitter trial—“and made useless upon the pretence they had no interest in the Country, that the people would not follow strangers, and that they were unacquainted with the manner of governing them.” Stevens draws attention to the excessive number of officers in his regiment, the Grand Priory: of thirteen companies, there were no less than ninety-four men bearing his Majesty’s commission. His regiment was commanded by the brother of the Duke of Berwick and we can conjecture that if this colonel permitted such a superabundance, the state of affairs under other commanding officers was probably much worse. “These supernumeraries were of no use and prodigiously increased in the charge of the army.

“One of the things that lulled us always and put us in deep security and confidence of our strength was the power of France. The millions of money spoken of (by Ireland from France) would have impoverished Croesus and broke the Bank of Venice.”

The last paragraph of Stevens’s *Journal* agrees closely with the tone of Tyrconnel’s two despatches. As these two writers were unconnected with each other and attached to different interests—for Tyrconnel was as Irish as Stevens was English in his views—the corroboration is the more

¹ Add. 36,296, p. 54 (Brit. Mus.).

remarkable. Of course the latter is more optimistic than the former, but this arises from the fact that Tyrconnel did not know how the event was to falsify the prediction, whereas Stevens—for he wrote somewhat later¹—did possess this knowledge. Both writers indicate that the prospects of James appeared to be of the brightest when he landed at Kinsale.

It is interesting to turn from these two Jacobite writers to two Williamite statesmen, and to see how they conceived the plans of James might best be met. The Southwell Correspondence in Trinity College, Dublin, sets forth one scheme done by an unknown writer. It is entitled "Twenty-eight Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of Ireland, Humbly submitted to the Most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons at the Great Convocation at Westminster, 12th January, 1688⁸." ² Out of these twenty-eight we give the three that seem most important. The fifth explains that "Without the subjugation of Ireland, England cannot flourish, and perhaps not subsist. For every harbour in Munster would be more prejudicial to the Trade of England, than either Sally or Algiers ever was, that island being so situated, that England cannot trade with Spain, the Levant, Africa, the East Indies or West, without sailing almost in view of the old head of Kinsale, so that England must traffic at vast disadvantage, hazardous, and charge in armed and double-manned vessels, or with great convoys. Add to this that Ireland would be always in close league with the enemies of England, and yearly supply a vast number of able bodies to annoy it."

The thirteenth aphorism maintains the advisability of a simultaneous descent on Ulster and Munster in order to distract Ireland. The twenty-sixth holds that "All private undertakings, in this matter of Ireland, are vain. For no one body is able to do much, and Confederations and Partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any undertaker of public

¹ He died the 27th of October 1726.

² I. 6. 11 (Southwell MSS., T.C.D.); *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-1690, pp. 440-441; *S.P., Dom.*, King William's Chest 6, No. 106. The writer was probably Sir Robert Southwell.

affairs ever succeed in Ireland ; witness Sir Thomas Smith's Project in the Ards, and Walter, Earl of Essex, his in Clandeboy and the Ferny." The anonymous writer bases his hopes on a well-planned and skilfully-organised expedition from England.

The second writer, Mr. Cox, gives his views in "A Discourse of the Methods to be observed for the Speedy Reduction of Ireland," under the date of the 2nd of December 1689.¹ He begins by enumerating twelve undeniable maxims, and two of these deserve notice. The third seeks to show "That it is better husbandry to spend two millions in one year for the conquest of Ireland than to expend a million per annum for seven years for the same end." Unconscious of the designs of Louis XIV., Mr. Cox meets them ; he thinks that the subduing of Ireland has rarely been attempted in a thorough fashion, and for this reason the English conquest has been undone.

The last maxim demonstrates "That one harbour in Munster would be more useful and advantageous towards the reduction of Ireland than half the province of Ulster can be." He suggests that it is specially wise to hold Kinsale, for if it is in English hands, supplies from France cannot be landed there for the Irish. "No people in the world are more unanimously engaged to King James than the Irish papists ; the number of those fit for war is not less than 120,000. 100,000 of these never had property worth 5*l.* a piece, and they have nothing to lose, and so will endeavour to prolong the war. All these will ever hate King William, and be 'sticklers' for the Prince of Wales. This vast number of people cannot be subdued for many years, without the assistance of famine and disease. One harbour in Munster, say Kinsale, will be more useful than half the province of Ulster can be.

"From all this, I assert that no one army in Ulster can conquer Ireland in less than 3 or 4 or perhaps 7, years, because the ports of Munster being open, the Irish can always get supplies from France, therefore, they must be attacked at both ends of the Kingdom."

¹ I. 6. 10 (Southwell MSS., T.C.D.).

From his twelve maxims he derives as many methods, and among them he includes that simultaneous attack on Ulster and Munster which was recommended by the anonymous writer just now quoted.

The third maxim mentions that Cork ought to be speedily secured, for there are 10,000 Protestants living in that county. The sixth does not shrink from an imitation of the methods of Mountjoy: famine must be employed to reduce the strength of the Irish. Mr. Cox notices that the Irish own many horse. "The strength of the Irish lies in their horse, and in this we must overpower them by sending in May or June 1500 or 2000 more horse. The English army, being the aggressors, should fight on all opportunities, and 'shun' the siege of any strong fort, Dublin excepted, because, by wasting the country round about, such fort cannot long hold out. The biggest of our armies should follow King James wherever he goes."

The twelfth trusts "That there may be some means found out of dividing the Irish, especially after they receive some considerable blow, and perhaps it may be a good way of doing this by making a difference between those that are of English extraction and those that are not, and this further use might be made of that distinction, viz. to manifest to the world that this is a national quarrel and not a war of religion."

The fears of the two Williamite writers and the hopes of the two Jacobite prove how bright were the prospects of James when he came to Ireland. They show that had he looked to himself and his countrymen, had he not trusted another, the issue of the war might have been widely different. It seems well to take careful note of contemporary accounts of the actual position of affairs, for they enable us to see how matters stood to keen observers of that time. Of course, beside the aspirations of Tyrconnel and Stevens we see the means the former employed to realise his dreams. These now must be given in some detail in order to understand how thoroughly Tyrconnel entered into the policy favoured by the two royal brothers and their father. Strafford, the Richelieu

of Ireland, had come with a twofold purpose, viz. to read Charles I. a lesson in the art of managing Parliament, and to raise an army to aid in the subjugation of England. Charles II. had concentrated much of his attention upon his home affairs, but James II. returned to his father's policy. He determined to provide for himself and his courtiers "a sure sanctuary and retreat in Ireland if all those endeavours should be blasted in England which he had made for their security, and of whose success he had not yet reason to despair."¹ From the very beginning of his reign he held this plan steadily before him and sent Tyrconnel to carry it out. "There is work to be done in Ireland," remarked James on his appointment, "which no Englishman will do."

Amongst the papers of Tyrrel, titular bishop of Clogher, lies the petition of the Roman Catholic clergy in favour of Tyrconnel.² In this they beg James to lodge authority in his hands "to the terror of the factious and encouragement of your faithful subjects here. Since his dependence on your Majesty is so great that we doubt not but that they will receive him with such acclamations as the long captivated Israelites did their redeemer Mordecai. And since your Majesty in glory and power does equal the mighty Ahasuerus, and the virtues and beauties of your Queen is as true a parallel to his adored Hester, we humbly beseech she may be heard as our great patroness against that Haman (*i.e.* Ormonde) whose pride and ambition of being honoured as his master may have hitherto kept us in slavery." In the correspondence of Tyrrel we meet a letter sent to James in 1686.³ It gives a clue to the policy the new Commander-in-Chief, Tyrconnel, came to carry out. Like much of the correspondence of the time, the letter is long, illegible, and imperfect. It suggests that the Protestant soldiers will not care to fight for the King and his schemes, and asks James to promote Roman Catholics to "the most eminent and profitable stations." The writer, dealing further with the difficulties to be

¹ *Secret Consults*; *State Tracts*, iii. 616; cf. Mazure, *Révolution de 1668*, ii. 115, 287.

² King, *State of the Protestants*, p. 294.

³ *Ibid.* p. 295; cf. *Jacobite Narrative*, 63.

anticipated from the Protestants, says : " As matters now stand, there is but one sure and safe expedient, that is, to purge without delay the rest of your Irish army, increase and make it wholly Catholic ; raise and train a Catholic militia there ; place Catholics at the helm of that kingdom ; issue out *quo warrantos* against all the Corporations in it ; put all employs, civil as well as military, into Catholic hands. This done, call a Parliament of loyal . . ." —the letter now becomes undecipherable. From an Irish point of view the policy outlined deserved consideration, though the attitude an Englishman must take is clear. Charles I. had used Ireland as a means of promoting the system of " Thorough," and now it appeared as if James II. were going to imitate his father's example. As Strafford is to Charles I. so is Tyrconnel to James II. The parallel was too obvious for any man to mistake the trend of the scheme. Tyrconnel enforced rigidly the order that the militia should give up their arms and proceeded to disarm the other Protestants, though the native Irish were permitted to retain their weapons. The army he commanded consisted of about 7000 men, and these were Protestant. He brought with him, in 1686, blank commissions, and instructions to admit Roman Catholics into the service. In justice to James it must be stated that he desired that no distinction should be drawn between Roman Catholic and Protestant, but his servant disregarded this instruction. Tyrconnel pretended that the officers held revolutionary principles, and he dismissed 300 of them. Some had helped to suppress the rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth, but this service counted for nothing. All had bought their commissions and were cashiered without compensation. Many went abroad, especially to Holland, and returned to Ireland in after days to serve under the standard of William.¹ The dismissal of the men followed hard upon that of their officers, and 6000 of them were turned adrift.² From a twofold point of view this

¹ Gustavus Hamilton so returned.

² Clarendon, *State Letters*, i. 494-495 ; *Somers Tracts*, ii. 416-417 ; G. Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ii. 304-305.

remodelling did harm to the Jacobite cause. It terrified the English and so drew attention to what they conceived to be James's tyrannical aims. "The turning out so many men in an instant," writes Clarendon to Sunderland, "taking in none but natives in their room, and the very indiscreet conduct of some of the new officers in declaring they will entertain no English, nor any Protestants, does frighten people."¹ Again, it lowered the efficiency of the army, for the new men did not possess the experience of the old.² Mr. Stafford, with perhaps a touch of exaggeration, thus charged the Grand Jury of County Mayo at Castlebar, in October 1686: "I shall not need to say much concerning rogues and vagabonds, the country being pretty well cleared of them, by reason His Majesty has entertained them all in his service, clothed them with red coats, and provided well for them."³

The policy of Tyrconnel was carried through with a thoroughness that even Strafford might have envied. Charles I. sought with the keys of the law, as Ranke tells us, to open the door to absolute power, and the Lord Deputy was willing to use the keys for the same object. Under Poynings' law the Privy Council of Ireland performed many weighty duties, not the least important of which was that its members must signify approval of a proposed act of Parliament before it could be introduced into the Irish House of Commons. If this body were controlled, an easy method of directing legislation lay in the Lord Deputy's grasp. In May 1686, therefore, eighteen Roman Catholics and two Protestants were made privy councillors. One of the Protestants, Lord Granard, was appointed President of the Council, but he refused to act. The other Protestant peers did not attend the meetings, "since they were so vastly outnumbered as to prevent their doing either the Protestants or their country

¹ Clarendon, *State Letters*, i. 485.

² Avaux to Louis, March $\frac{23}{13}$, 1689: "Makarty m'a dit que comme les soldats n'ont receu de paye ils ont pillé par tout." Avaux to Louis, March $\frac{29}{19}$, 1689: "Vivent en parie de ce qu'ils volent à la campagne, de moutons et autres bestiaux."

³ Clarendon, *State Letters*, ii. 56.

service.”¹ The Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, did not prove pliable enough, and accordingly he made room for Alexander Fitton, a convert from Protestantism. The probability of a Protestant being equitably tried by him may be judged from the fact that he held that amongst 40,000 of them there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain. When a case involving the two religions came before him he retired from the bench to consult his chaplain, an ecclesiastic educated in Spain. His assistants as Masters in Chancery were Dr. Stafford, a Roman Catholic priest, and Felix O'Neill. Of the nine Protestant judges in the Courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench, but three remained after Tyrconnel had finally pruned the lists.² Thomas Nugent and Sir Brian O'Neal were at once made judges. The appointment of the former proved peculiarly unfortunate. The son of an attainted peer, he sat in the court where outlawries were decided. It was soon reported that he reversed all the outlawries that came before him. The landlords heard from the bench the unwelcome intelligence that rapparees were necessary evils. A Roman Catholic, Stephen Rice, was appointed Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer. This court was particularly important because from its decisions there lay no appeal or writ of error into England. All actions of trespass and ejectment were within its jurisdiction. Before his appointment, Rice had declared that he would drive a coach and six through the Act of Settlement, and as suitors under this act came before him they could scarcely feel that their case received an impartial hearing. Officially, before its repeal in 1689 he maintained that it was against natural equity and could not oblige. On the bench he stated that Protestants should have nothing from him but the least the law could give them, a sentiment that found a favourable hearing with his colleague, Sir Henry Lynch. “He, knowing that they could not bring his sentences to England to be examined there, acted as a man that

¹ Harris, *History of the Life and Reign of William III.*

² Clarendon, *State Letters*, i. 296; *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-1691), 192-197.

feared no after-account or reckoning. . . . It was before him that all the charters in the Kingdom were damned, and that in a term or two, in such a manner that proved him a man of despatch, though not of justice.”¹ The appointment of Nagle as Attorney-General was in keeping with that of Rice, for he was well known to be the author of *A Letter from Coventry*, a pamphlet insisting upon the repeal of the Act of Settlement.² A brother judge, John Keating, the Chief Justice, protested to James against its repeal.³ Daly, a Roman Catholic judge of the same court, resisted its repeal, and was afterwards impeached by the Irish Parliament for having said, “That instead of being a Parliament, as we pretend, we are more like Massaniello’s confused rabble, every man making a noise for an Estate and talking nonsense when our lives are in danger.”⁴ The majority of the judges was now to the satisfaction of the Lord Deputy, and he endeavoured to secure that the sheriffs and justices of the peace should yield similar contentment. In October 1686, Nugent and he drew up a list of sheriffs for the following year and presented the list to the nominal Lord Lieutenant, Clarendon. That year there was but one Protestant sheriff in all Ireland, and the story runs that his name had been inserted in a mistake for that of a namesake who was a Roman Catholic. The account that Macaulay gives of the new officials is well known, and an investigation of contemporary evidence leaves little doubt that his picture is substantially true. Many of the sheriffs of 1687 were re-appointed in the following year. During 1687 and 1688 Protestants found it difficult to recover a debt by execution, “because the poverty of the sheriffs was such

¹ King, p. 71.

² *Ibid.* 184-185. The letter is printed in the *Jacobite Narrative*, 192-201. Cf. Berwick’s *Memoirs*, i. 360, and the *Clarendon and Rochester Correspondence*, i. 273, ii. 150.

³ Tyrconnel thought Keating an “honest and wise man” and “one who understood the country as well as anybody” (*The Clarendon Correspondence*, p. 526). Cf. the *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 12th Rep., pt. vi. pp. 138-139.

⁴ *True Account of the Present State of Ireland*, London, 1690. When the House of Commons received the false news of the surrender of Derby they were so glad that they resolved not to proceed with the charge. Letter from Dublin, June 12, 1689, attached to the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland*, June 6, 1689. Daly’s is the only case of impeachment in the annals of the House of Commons. Cf. Lord Mountmorres, *The History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament*.

that all men were unwilling to trust an Execution upon a Bond for twenty pounds into their hands, they not being responsible for so small a sum, as many found by too late an experience."¹ It should be noted that the sheriffs were allowed to act without taking the oaths required by law on assuming their office. Similar changes were made in the ranks of the justices of the peace, and their number was largely augmented by the addition of Roman Catholics. Some Quakers were also appointed, but their attitude towards the Protestants did not differ materially from that of the Roman Catholics, for they had been harshly treated.²

The disarming of the settlers, their exclusion from the public service, the changes among the Privy Councillors. Judges, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, all pointed in one direction. It was quite clear that Tyrconnel was determined to secure the ascendancy of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.³ The process, however, was not complete so long as the towns and the Act of Settlement remained untouched. With the former he commenced operations along the path he had certainly prepared most carefully. His sheriffs might be trusted to look after the representation of the towns and his judges were to try causes from them. From Tyrconnel's standpoint, the corporations stood in urgent need of remodelling. There were about a hundred of them and practically all the householders were Protestants. No supremacy could be consummated so long as they were left alone. The policy of Charles I. and Charles II. found an apt pupil in the Irish Viceroy. The parallel between Stuart methods in England in these two reigns, and methods at this time in Ireland, is marked and tolerably complete.⁴ As Charles II.

¹ Harris ; cf. *A Short View*, London, 1689.

² On the favourable attitude of the Quakers to James, cf. Mazure, iii. 11. Cf. also G. Story, *True and Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland*, p. 50. Two Quakers, A. Sharp and S. Clarrage, were made aldermen of Dublin and excused from their oaths. *Ireland's Lament*.

³ Putting them into power, and displacing Protestants to make room for them, made more noise and raised King James more enemies than all the other maladministrations charged upon his government put together. Leslie, *Answer to King*, p. 126.

⁴ Clarke, ii. 80-81 ; *Somers Tracts*, ii. 106-107.

attacked London, so Tyrconnel attacked Dublin.¹ In the issue the hostility of both cities proved of deadly import to the cause of absolute rule. As Charles had required the surrender of the charters of London, so Tyrconnel demanded those of Dublin. The Lord Deputy informed the Mayor and Aldermen that the Sovereign had graciously resolved to enlarge the privileges of the corporations and for that purpose he wanted to call them in. Secured in their rights by one hundred and thirty charters, the Common Council returned for an answer that they were content with their ancient government. The reply was in vain, for Tyrconnel was resolute in his attack and was determined to make an example of the capital. The device of Charles II. was employed and a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the corporation. The case was tried before Chief Baron Rice in the Court of Exchequer, and from this court there was practically no appeal. The advantages of the remodelling of the bench was at once evident. The corporation was not allowed as much time to put in their plea as was necessary to transcribe it. In copying out their numerous charters a clerk inserted the wrong date in one, but leave was refused them to amend the error. The decision of the court was given against them and their charter was taken from them. The other corporations took heed to this signal lesson and they either "by voluntary resignation or a short trial" gave up their charters.² The scheme met with little opposition save in Londonderry—"a stubborn people as they appeared afterwards) who stood an obstinate suit, but were forced at last to undergo the same fate with the rest."³ Within two terms all the charters in the country were either forfeited or superseded. James could see that his plan of an Irish sanctuary was being steadily realised.⁴ The new charters contained

¹ On the assaults on the corporations, cf. Harris, *Dublin*, p. 359; Witherow, *Derry and Enniskillen*, p. 26; Benn, *Belfast*, p. 156; Stuart, *Armagh*, p. 412; D'Alton, *Drogheda*, ii. p. 297; D'Alton and O'Flanagan, *Dundalk*, 167; Lenihan, *Limerick*, p. 211; Smith, *Waterford*, p. 158; Caulfield, *Youghal Council Book*, p. 379.

² Macpherson, *Original Papers*, i. 151.

³ Clark, *James II.*

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 96-98; King, 100-104.

a proviso that at least two-thirds of the members of the corporations should be Roman Catholics. In Londonderry this clause was rigorously carried out. Its new aldermen and burgesses numbered sixty-five and out of these forty-five were Roman Catholics and twenty Protestants.¹ The results of this policy may be seen in the exodus of the settlers. They withdrew to England and Scotland if they were in a position to escape.² When Clarendon ceased to act as nominal Lord-Lieutenant in 1687, fifteen hundred families crossed to England with him.

The testimonies of Archbishop King and Chief Justice Keating make possible an interesting comparison between the state of Ireland when James ascended the throne in 1685 and its state in 1688. The former informs us that at James's "coming to the crown Ireland was in a most flourishing condition. Lands were everywhere improved and rents advanced to near double what they had been a few years before. The kingdom abounded with money; trade flourished, even to the envy of our neighbours; cities, especially Dublin, increased exceedingly; gentlemen's seats were built or building everywhere; and parks, enclosures and other ornaments were carefully promoted, insomuch that many places of the kingdom . . . equalled the improvements of England. And the King's revenue increased proportionably to the kingdom's advance in wealth, and was every day growing. It amounted to more than three hundred thousand pounds per annum, a sum sufficient to defray all the expenses of the crown, and to return yearly a considerable sum into England, to which this nation had formerly been a constant expense." The picture drawn by James's Chief Justice for him in May 1689 presents a very great contrast. "From the most improved and improving spot of earth in Europe; from stately herds and flocks; from plenty of money at seven

¹ Macaulay is in error in stating there was only one Anglo-Saxon in the corporation. The "Londeriados" tell us that—

For burgesses and freemen thay had chose
Brogue makers, butchers, raps, and such as those.

² William Molyneux fled in 1687; King, 105; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 149; *S.P., Dom., Warrant Book* 94, p. 90.

or eight per cent, whereby trade and industry were encouraged, and all upon the security of those Acts of Parliament; from great and convenient buildings newly erected in cities and other corporations, to that degree that even the City of Dublin is, since the passing of these Acts, and the security and quiet promised from them, enlarged to double what it was; and the shipping in divers ports were five or six times more than ever was known before, to the vast increase in your Majesty's Revenue," Ireland was reduced "to the saddest and most disconsolate condition of any kingdom or country in Europe." What he said in private he repeated in public. In his charge to the Grand Jury at the assizes at Wicklow he says: "There are such general and vast depredations in the Country that many honest men go to bed possessed of considerable stocks of black and white cattle, gotten by great labour and pains, the industry of their whole lives, and in the morning when they arise not anything left them; but, burned out of all, to go a begging, all being taken away by rebels, thieves and robbers, the sons of violence. . . . It is come to that pass, that a man that loses the better part of his substance chuses rather to let that, and what he has besides, go, than come to give evidence. And why? Because he is certain to have his house burnt and his throat cut if he appears against them. Good God, what a pass are we come to!"¹ Tyrconnel must have been aware of the condition to which his policy was reducing Ireland. Did he reflect that these results were hindering the attainment of the end he had in view? Did he think when he complained of his difficulty in raising £10,000 that his revolutionary tactics were to blame? Could he not foresee that his treatment of the Protestants must cause a rebellion? If these rebelled, his hopes must—in part, at least—be disappointed. Besides leaving out of account the probable attitude of the settlers, the effect of these

¹ *State Trials*, xii. 615, 635; cf. Avaux to Louis, April $\frac{13}{23}$, 1869; Desgrigny to

Louvois, May $\frac{17}{27}$, 1690.

changes on English opinion could not be ignored. The misfortune of Tyrconnel, however, was that he saw events entirely from an Irish standpoint; though he had spent much time in England he did not understand that country. The reception of his two delegates in London ought to have opened his eyes. On the Act of Settlement rested the titles of many of the proprietors, and to make the Roman Catholics supreme he must undo it. Early in 1688 he despatched two of his judges, Nugent and Rice, to England, and they carried with them the draft of an Act for the repeal of the Act of Settlement. The judges thought they might induce the King and the Privy Council to view their proposal with favour. Lord Bellasis was so indignant with them that he at once proposed that they should be committed, or commanded to return to Dublin forthwith. Their mission became known in the metropolis and the mob assaulted them. On their way to the Council their coach was surrounded by boys carrying sticks with potatoes stuck on them, and shouting, "Make room for the Irish ambassadors."¹ James for a while was disposed to support them, but the Council offered stout opposition. Nugent and Rice were compelled to return with their work unaccomplished, and with the feeling that the resistance to it came not only from the Council but also from the people. Tyrconnel, however, heeded not these signs of the times, ominous though they were to his plans.

Though the Viceroy had not been supported by James to the degree he had expected, in the summer of 1688 he sent to England three thousand Irish soldiers. The English had not encountered soldiers from Ireland in their own land since the days of the Commonwealth, and the memories of Nantwich and Northwich were not calculated to inspire them with marked confidence. They suspected that James wanted to govern them by means of a standing army, a project that raised the utmost abhorrence in the mind of every Englishman. Rumours, akin to those that circulated at the time of the 1641 rebellion,

¹ Harris, Appendix ; *State Tracts*, 3 ; *Secret Consults*.

were the subject of frequent gossip. It is not too much to say that an Englishman of those times viewed an Irishman in the same light as an Englishman of the year 1857 looked upon a Hindoo. The Irish fugitives no doubt told the story of their hardships, and the tale did not lose in the telling. In Ireland, too, many threatening signs were to be observed. The farmer experienced delay and difficulty in getting his horses shod, for the blacksmith was busily engaged in making skenes and half-pikes. We hear of a friar who preached a sermon to soldiers, and the burden of his discourse was the grievous sin of Saul in not slaying the Amalekites. Masses were said in public for an object that remained undisclosed, and the average settler conceived the idea that he understood the secret design. The details of the massacre of St. Bartholomew were conned over with a new and horrible interest, for some such fate seemed hanging over the readers thereof. To come nearer home, the doings of Sir Phelim Roe in 1641 were discussed by the flickering light of turf fires, where the rising anger of many a father kindled the smouldering passions of his son. It may be that the Lord Deputy imagined that all these rumours would have no other effect than to terrify the settlers into acquiescence with his plans. The plan had been tried before and with conspicuous success. The worst of it was that the Irish enthusiasm might be inadvertently stimulated too far. That might be awkward. There are evil spirits which it is easier, as German legend tells us, to raise than to lay, and the spirit of ascendancy is of them. That there was no foundation for the rumour of the intended massacre of the Protestants is beyond all doubt. Tyrconnel had complete control of the Government, and he had little reason to think that he would be unable to overpower the settlers if they dared to rise. The fact remains that his policy had been so ill-advised in its inception and so hasty in its execution that it left no hope in the mind of the settler. While he was thus agitated the hints of the coming danger took a definite form in the shape of a letter found on the streets of

Comber, County Down, addressed to Lord Mount Alexander. The anonymous note was dated the 3rd of December 1688, and ran as follows: "I have written to you to let you know that all our Irishmen through Ireland is sworn: that on the ninth day of this month they are all to fall on to kill and murder man, wife and child; and I desire your lordship to take care of yourself and all others that are judged by our men to be heads, for who soever of them can kill any of you, they are to have a Captain's place; so my desire to your honour is, to look to yourself and give other noblemen warning, and go not out either night or day without a good guard with you, and let no Irishman come near you whatsoever he be; so this is all from him who was your father's friend and is your friend and will be, though I dare not be known, as yet, for fear of my life."¹ The letter was a hoax, but a hoax that produced grave consequences.² When carburetted hydrogen and air in certain proportions exist in a mine, no great harm ensues so long as they are left alone. But if a miner enters with a lighted candle, an explosion at once takes place. This is what happened in Ulster when the letter was read. In the excited state of feeling its authenticity was never suspected, for it expressed current fears. Copies of it were scattered broadcast, and it spread with a celerity akin to that of the notorious chupatties of 1857. Kenmare, Charleville, and Mallow in the south, and Galway in the west, became centres to which the alarmed settlers fled. But in the north a spirit of active resistance was displayed, for both Enniskillen and Derry closed their gates. It is strange to reflect that the writing of this letter was the first link in the chain of events leading up to the final expulsion of James from Ireland.

A copy of the anonymous letter to Lord Mount Alexander arrived at Enniskillen on the 7th of December

¹ Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry*, ch. i.; King, App. No. 12.

² "It so alarmed the city (of Dublin), that above 5000 Protestants appeared in arms that same night, and many hundred families embarked from all parts in such confusion, that they left everything but their lives behind them," C. Leslie, *Answer to a Book intituled The State of the Protestants in Ireland*, p. 78.

1688, and caused much excitement among the people. On the 11th came a letter from Dublin stating that two companies of infantry were to be quartered in the town. The policy of Louvois was known to the inhabitants, and whispers of the dragoonades were bruited abroad. Five men, William Browning, Robert Clarke, William MacCarmick, James Ewart, and Allen Cathcart resolved to deny the soldiers entrance to their town.¹ It is difficult to restrain a smile at this resolution when one learns that all the means of resistance in Enniskillen was ten pounds of powder, twenty firelocks, and eighty men. But the little town was to show that after all a spirit of undaunted resolution counts for more than material resources. "Moral force," maintains Napoleon, "is to the physical three to one."² MacCarmick consulted Gustavus Hamilton, who advised resistance. The inhabitants elected Hamilton as Governor and Colonel in command, and appointed Thomas Lloyd Lieutenant-Colonel, and a small force of two hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse was formed. In spite of the opposition of Captain Corry, who, like Buchan at Derry, wanted to admit the soldiers, the drawbridge at the east end of the town was finished. All the Roman Catholic residents were sent away, and the neighbouring Protestants were asked to assist in the defence. Cathcart and MacCarmick were despatched to Derry in order to secure arms and ammunition, and to acquaint the people of the maiden city of their determination to defend their town. They delivered a letter to Mountjoy, who was a nobleman with great influence in Ulster, from the inhabitants of Enniskillen, stating, "Our resolutions are firm and fully fixed to preserve this place as a refuge for many souls to fly if any massacre should be attempted, which we daily fear and tremble to think of . . . we will demean ourselves with all the sobriety imaginable; neither did it ever enter into our thoughts to spill one drop of blood, unless we be thereunto forced in

¹ Paul Dane's letter to W. MacCarmick, December 13, 1688.

² Cf. Henderson. "To sustain the *morale* of his own men; to break down the *morale* of his enemy—these are the great objects which, if he (*i.e.* the general) be ambitious of success, he must always keep in view."

our own defence, or to take from any man the value of a farthing.”¹ Clearly for the present defence, not defiance, was the motto of the Enniskilleners. Though their town had no walls, still it was protected by the waters of Lough Erne.² This natural fortification was, however, impaired by the freezing of the lake, whereupon the men, like the Russians at the passage of the Beresina, 1812, resorted to the device of breaking the ice around the town. Their spirit was such that when the supply of swords and pikes failed them, the smiths were ordered to fasten the blades of the scythes to the ends of poles. Derry could not send arms and ammunition for they were all wanted at home. Hugh Hamilton and Cathcart were ordered to go to England to procure these necessities, and to assure the Prince of Orange of their adherence to his cause.³ They were to show how important was their town as being the “only inlet from Connaught to Ulster.”⁴ It was in fact the key of Ulster from the side of Connaught, and if it were captured Derry could not long hold out. A letter from the Governor to Lord Mountjoy containing the following words: “We stand upon our guard and do resolve by the blessing of God rather to meet our danger than expect it,” marks the new spirit beginning to prevail.⁴ On the 11th of March 1689, in the market-place of Enniskillen, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen amidst a scene of great enthusiasm. Lundy tried to persuade the zealous inhabitants of both Enniskillen and Cavan that they ought to retire to Derry. He was unsuccessful in this plan, but the appearance of the army of Lord Galmoy at Cavan compelled the inhabitants to withdraw to Enniskillen in most piteous plight. Galmoy advanced to Belturbet and began the siege of Crom.⁵ Much of his success

¹ MacCarmick, *Further Impartial Account of the Actions of the Inniskilling Men*, p. 11.
On Mountjoy, cf. Avaux to Louis, April 23, 1689.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 311-312, 313.

³ Their commission from Enniskillen bears the date of January 16, 168⁸/₉.

⁴ Hamilton's *Actions of the Enniskillen Men*, p. 58; MacCarmick, p. 13.

⁵ Wolseley's Despatch to Schomberg; *London Gazette*, Feb. 27, 16⁸⁹/₉₀; Mar. 3, 16⁸⁹/₉₀; Letter, March 1690, from an officer at Belturbet. Contrast *Macariae Excidium*, 314. Berwick states that Wolseley's forces numbered 3000 foot besides 300 horse!

depended upon the old Chinese military policy of scaring the enemy by an imposing appearance before the fight began. He employed a curious device to conceal his lack of cannon. Two cannon were constructed of tin, bound with whip-cord, and covered with buckram. These were drawn by sixteen horses as if they were real guns, and with these he threatened to batter down the castle. A volley of firearms was the sole answer the tiny garrison vouchsafed to give. Meanwhile Hamilton hurried two hundred men to their relief, and the united forces routed the Jacobite general.¹ He retreated to Belturbet, where he stained his name by an act of gross treachery. One of his captains, Brian Maguire, had been captured at Crom, and Galmoy offered to exchange Captain Dixie for him. The proposal was accepted and Maguire released. When the prisoner came to Belturbet Galmoy tried Dixie and another prisoner, Charleton, on the charge of high-treason. The two were offered life and liberty if they became Roman Catholics and followed the Jacobite banner. They scornfully rejected these infamous terms, and were hanged from a signpost in Belturbet. Maguire, to his honour be it said, was so indignant with Galmoy that he resigned his commission. This faithless deed left a marked impression in Ireland, for the tale speedily went abroad.² It embittered the whole contest and made many men determined not to give or receive quarter from a Jacobite.³

Emboldened by their success at Crom, the Enniskilleners sallied forth and attacked the enemy wherever and whenever an opportunity presented itself. Lundy renewed his efforts to make them retire to Derry. In this he was unsuccessful, though he persuaded the men of Dungannon and Sligo to withdraw. The misfortune of the latter town proved of good service to Enniskillen,

¹ Hamilton, p. 11; MacCarmick, p. 31.

² Cf. the *Clarke Correspondence* (T.C.D.).

³ MacCarmick, p. 32; Hamilton, p. 12; *Ireland's Lamentation, etc.*, written by an English Protestant that lately narrowly escaped with his Life from thence, p. 32; Story, p. 7; Harris, p. 215; *Narrative of the Murders perpetrated on the Protestants in Ireland by the late King James's Agents*, p. 25.

for two troops of horse and six companies of foot arrived from it. Hamilton at last returned from England and brought with him supplies, but of these Lundy allowed merely six barrels of powder and sixty old musket-barrels to be forwarded to Governor Gustavus Hamilton. The new troops and the fresh supplies, slight as they were, encouraged Colonel Lloyd to pursue the enemy at Trillick and Augher, and he routed them at Belleek, returning with horses, cattle, sheep, and provisions.¹ At the end of May he had cleared the enemy out of the county of Cavan and proceeded to Kells, within thirty miles of the capital. Hamilton marched to Omagh to make an attempt to relieve Derry, but the advance of a large force under Clancarty compelled his retreat.² As a result of this enterprising policy the men of Enniskillen never lacked anything. During the war Hamilton proudly informs us that in his market-place a good milch cow cost no more than eighteenpence and a cow not giving milk sold for one-third of that price.³

While the men of Enniskillen were winning these triumphs matters were not so prosperous in Derry, though one piece of notable fortune befell the northern city in the temporary removal of its garrison. The place had been garrisoned by Lord Mountjoy's regiment, and, as he and his men were for the most part Protestants, the citizens were satisfied with them. In his desire to aid his master, Tyrconnel had ordered troops to move to Hounslow Heath, and to fill their place Mountjoy was commanded to march to Dublin at the end of November 1688. The Earl of Antrim had lately raised a regiment, consisting largely of Roman Catholics, and it was sent to Derry. As the men had recently been enlisted they were not in a position to take up quarters immediately, and for a fortnight the town was without a garrison. The blunder was criminal. Avaux remarked that "the man who would have served the King of France, his master, as Tyrconnel

¹ Hamilton, p. 19; MacCarmick, pp. 40-41.

² *Wars in Ireland between their Majesties' Army and the Forces of the late King James* (London, 1690).

³ Hamilton, p. 17; MacCarmick, pp. 37-39.

served James in taking away Mountjoy's regiment, would have lost his head." In another sense the Lord Deputy did lose his head, for this fatal mistake rendered the siege possible. News came on the 7th of December from Mr. George Philips of Newtownlimavady that Antrim's force was approaching, and the same day Mr. George Canning sent to Derry a copy of the notorious anonymous letter of the 3rd of December 1688. Men remembered that another such letter had saved Parliament from the consequences of the Gunpowder Plot, and that the capture of Dublin in 1641 was prevented by as improbable a discovery as this letter. To people in this frame of mind the sight of Antrim's red shanks was enough. They heard the soldiers were coming "without any arms besides skeans, clubs, and such other weapons as kearns and tories used."¹ The authorities, however, shrank from the extreme step of refusing entry to the king's troops, but the matter was taken out of their hands by the action of the people. As the officers and men drew near the Ferry quay entrance some apprentices rushed out, drew up the drawbridge and locked the gate while the soldiers were but some sixty yards distant.² Thus on this eventful 7th of December did the citizens of Derry cross the Rubicon, though with grave misgivings. Imbued with the doctrine of the divine right of kings, the Deputy Mayor, Buchan, and the Bishop, Hopkins, counselled submission. "My Lord," replied Irwin, one of the apprentice boys, "your doctrine's very good, but we can't now hear you out."³ Arms and ammunition were taken from the magazines, and a guard was mounted. Haunted still by the dread of the massacre, the Protestants ordered the Roman Catholics out of the city. Fearing for the consequences of the shutting of the gates, some responsible citizens wrote to Mountjoy explaining the action of "the

¹ King, p. 115.

² Their names are H. Campsie,* W. Crookshanks, R. Sherrard,* D. Sherrard,* A. Irwin, J. Steward,* R. Morison,* A. Cunningham, S. Hunt, J. Spike, J. Conningham, W. Cairns, and S. Harvey. The five asterisked afterwards became officers during the siege.

³ *An Apology for the Failures charged on the Rev. Mr. George Walker's Printed Account*, p. 13.

rabble" and trusting "your lordship will represent our danger to His Excellency, the necessity we are under, and obtain from him his allowance and countenance for securing ourselves from these Ulster enemies."¹ One may shrewdly conjecture that the real purpose of this communication was to gain time until the writers saw the squadron of William sail into the Lough. It was on that fateful day, Sunday the 9th of December, that the expected massacre was to take place, but the 9th came and went and not a single Protestant lost his life.² It was then argued that the day of revenge was only put off, and that therefore it behoved all to be on their guard. Moreover, William had entered London and it was certain that Tyrconnel would not yield to him without a fight. These considerations were placed before the citizens by David Cairns, and they determined to continue their defensive attitude. He organised them into a regular force of six companies over each of which he placed a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign.³ Like the Enniskilleners, they resolved to send a deputation to London, and accordingly Cairns was despatched to pray for speedy succour, especially from the Irish Society, their landlords and friends.⁴

Tyrconnel was naturally much disturbed by this unexpected opposition from a mere handful of men. He stormed and raged and burnt his wig in his fury. At first he threatened to use force in order to restore the rebellious inhabitants to their allegiance, but the tidings of the triumphal march of William moderated the violence of his wrath. Mountjoy was consequently sent north again with six companies of his regiment. So far the citizens remained loyal to James, though they were resolute in admitting no papists into their city.⁵ Mountjoy secured

¹ The date of this letter is December 9, 1688. Mackenzie, *Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry*, App., p. 47, 254.

² Story, p. 3.

³ *Apology*, p. 4; Mackenzie, ch. i.; *Reflections on a Paper pretending to be an Apology for the Failures of Walker*, p. 6.

⁴ The letter to the Society at London, sent from Derry by Mr. Cairns, December 10, 1688; Mackenzie, 160-167, 256.

⁵ The Declaration (of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens of Londonderry).

admission for two of his companies, all Protestants, but as the other four included Roman Catholics they were quartered at Strabane, Newtownstewart, and Raphoe.¹ The people, however, made it a condition that their companies should mount guard in turn with the trained soldiers.² Having arranged matters in the north, Mountjoy was called to Dublin in January, and his second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lundy, became Governor.

Before his recall the people of Enniskillen sent him a deputation asking, like the Derrymen, for a favourable consideration of their case. "My advice to you is," he replied, "to submit to the King's authority." "What, my lord," remarked one of the amazed deputies, "are we to sit still and let ourselves be butchered?" "The King," answered Mountjoy, "will protect you." "If all that we hear be true," retorted the delegate, "his Majesty will find it hard enough to protect himself." Before New Year's Day the flight of James to France proved that he was unable to defend himself, much less his subjects. His rival entered the metropolis, and he was asked to assume the administration of the realm. In his task of governance it was at once evident that Ireland must take a prominent part and that much would depend upon the attitude of the Lord Deputy. Tyrconnel seemed to be in a state of bewilderment, for the course of events had moved fast. He removed Mountjoy out of the way by sending him along with Chief Baron Rice on a pretended embassy to France in order to place before James the position of affairs, and to ascertain, if possible, whether his master would make terms with the Prince of Orange. These instructions accompanied Mountjoy, but Rice bore others of a different kind. He was commanded to inform James that Mountjoy was the friend of the Protestants, and as such he had been sent to the Court of Saint Germain's to deprive them of their leader. The king was exhorted to come to Ireland with a French army,

¹ Mackenzie, 169.

² The Lord Mountjoy's Articles with the city of Derry, December 21, 1688; Walker's *Diary*.

for the people were true to him. But if he could not come, Tyrconnel stated that he would put the country under the protection of France rather than submit to the rule of the Prince of Orange.¹ Mountjoy was thrown into the Bastille, and the news of this treachery, added to the case of Captain Dixie, convinced Ulstermen that no reliance need be placed on the faith of the enemy. For a time the English thought that the flight of the master implied the submission of the servant, and, acting upon this belief, William resolved to sound Tyrconnel to see if this were so. No less a diplomatist than Sir William Temple was consulted, and he advised the use of Richard Hamilton's services in this delicate task, and promised the aid of his son John. Hamilton had been sent by Tyrconnel, his brother-in-law, to England to raise troops for James, but when the cause of the Revolution triumphed he accepted the new order of things. He now offered to reason with his former colleague, the Lord Deputy, and assured William that he would conduct matters to a prosperous issue.² Hamilton came to Dublin and saw that his task was hopeless. Tyrconnel had raised the passions of the people to such a pitch that he perceived the impossibility of calming them. They informed him that if he dreamt of making a treaty with the invader they would burn him in his palace and would beg Louis to act as their protector.³ The hesitation of Tyrconnel, probably feigned, came to an end. He persuaded Hamilton to serve his old master, and together they set to work in order to prepare for his coming. John Temple took the news of this treachery so much to heart that he committed suicide near London Bridge. The last lines he wrote were these: "My folly in undertaking what I could not execute hath done the King great prejudice which cannot be stopped. No easier way for me than

¹ Cf. Bonrepaux to Seignelay, Aug. 25, 1687.
Sept. 4

² Burnet, ii. 447-448.

³ "Le peuple . . . declaroit hautement que s'il songeoit à entrer dans quelque traitté il iroit le brûler dans son palais."—Avaux to Louis, from Dublin, Mar. 25, 1689.
Apr. 4

this—May his undertaking prosper—May he have a blessing.”¹

To the men of Ulster it was evident that they too must make preparations in order to ward off the coming attack. The landlords began to enrol their tenants into regiments and to provide them with arms.² No leader of dominating personality arose, and their movements were consequently fitful.³ The need of a central guiding body was felt, and on the 17th of January 1689 a council of the chief men of the province was formed at Hillsborough.⁴ Here they consulted with other prominent landlords and arranged their plans for defence and attack. In the month of its formation and the succeeding month the Council organised attempts to take Carrickfergus, Lisburn, Belfast, and Newry. The endeavour to capture the castle of Carrickfergus proved ineffective, and Friar O’Haggerty wrote to the Lord Deputy informing him “that they (*i.e.* the Protestants) were untrained and had few experienced officers; that the most part were without arms; and such as had them, their arms were unfixed and unfit for service; that they were very much scattered and their number not near what had been written and was confidently reported in Dublin; and that they wanted all ammunition and necessary provisions for appearing in the field.”⁵ Tyrconnel saw from this communication that all was not yet over, that with a determined effort the north might be crushed and that James, supported by French influence, might still rule at all events in Ireland. He disarmed the south on the 23rd of February, and Munster was therefore quiet. Rapidity is of the very essence of success in military affairs, and the same week that placed O’Haggerty’s missive in Tyrconnel’s hands saw Richard Hamilton sent to Ulster as Lieutenant-General with about a thousand efficient soldiers and two thousand recruits.⁶ James too in a short time was to land

¹ Luttrell’s *Diary*.

² *Ireland’s Lamentation*, p. 20.

³ King, pp. 125 and 142; Story, p. 12; *Narrative of the Murders*, pp. 12-17.

⁴ Mackenzie, 173-179.

⁵ *Ibid.* ch. ii.

⁶ Story, p. 4. *A True Account of the Present State of Ireland*, p. 6, confirms Story’s numbers. M’Geoghegan makes them 2000. *Ireland’s Lamentation* gives 24,000!

with skilled officers and men, military requisites and money. The expected advent of the king with more adequate resources stimulated Tyrconnel to unwonted efforts, and he assured Hamilton that nothing would be wanting on his part to complete the subjugation of Ulster. On the 7th of March 1688⁸ he issued a proclamation calling the rebels to their allegiance, charging them with murdering men and plundering their estates, and exempting ten leading gentlemen from pardon.¹

James had at last decided to yield to the entreaties of his lieutenant and to come to Ireland, a decision which must have gratified his royal ally. The ability to read the character of men, which, to some degree, Louis certainly possessed, was denied altogether to his ally at Saint Germain, whose incapacity was occasionally revealed in his selection of instruments. Lauzun, one of Louis's least capable generals, was prime favourite with James, and had the latter had his own way would have been entrusted with the command of the expedition to Ireland. He was, however, on bad terms with Louvois, the great French minister, who was resolute in his determination that Lauzun should not receive the hoped-for command. Once again French jealousy imperilled the success of an undertaking, and one of vital moment not only to James, but even more to Louis. Not many men were embarked but arms for 10,000 men, large supplies of ammunition, and 500,000 crowns in gold were sent.² The two able generals for which Tyrconnel had pleaded were, however, provided, for the chief command was given to the experienced Count of Rosen. Under him were Maumont, a lieutenant-general, and Pusignan, a brigadier. For the work of training and organising the Irish army about 400 captains, lieutenants, cadets, and gunners were carefully selected. Nothing was left undone to secure

¹ Cf. William's Proclamation; C.S.P., *Dom.*, February 22, 1689, p. 6.

² Maumont's Instructions; Despatches, Derry, 5th July and 10th July, Rosen to James; Despatch, Dublin, July 16, 1689, James to Dover; *Relation of what most remarkably happened during the Last Campaign in Ireland* (1689); *True and Impartial Account of their Majesties' Army* (1689-90); *Nairne Papers* (Bodleian Library), D.N., vol. i. fol. 64: "An account of arms and other habilaments of war remaining in the several magazines in the kingdom of Ireland, April 1, 1689."

the comfort of the sovereign. On the 15th of February he came to bid farewell to his host. "I hope," said the courtly Louis, "that we are about to part, never to meet again in this world. That is the best wish I can form for you. But, if any evil chance should force you to return, be assured that you will find me to the last such as you have found me hitherto." Doubtless he hoped that James would provide sufficient employment for his great adversary for at least the next ten years, and if he kept him busy for a longer period so much the better. That Louis's interests might not be neglected, the Count of Avaux accompanied the expedition, and a more faithful servant a master could scarcely hope to find. Though not a great diplomatist, he was a highly capable one, and read character shrewdly enough to use good instruments. He possessed the exact qualifications for playing the game of intrigue in the interests of France, and he served his king with whole-hearted devotion.

On the afternoon of Tuesday the 12th March James arrived in the harbour of Kinsale, and received a hearty reception.¹ Tyrconnel met him at Cork on the 14th and gave him good news.² His report was, in the main, a very reassuring document:—"That he had sent down Lieutenant-General Hamilton with about 2500 men, being as many as he could spare from Dublin, to make head against the rebels in Ulster, who were masters of all that province except Charlemont and Carrickfergus; that most part of the Protestants in other parts of the kingdom had been up; that in Munster they had possessed themselves of Castle Martyr and Bandon, but were forced to surrender both places and were totally reduced in those parts by Lieutenant-General Macarthy and were in a manner totally suppressed in the other two provinces; that the bare reputation of an Army had done it, together with the diligence of the Catholic nobility and gentry, who had raised above fifty regiments foot and several

¹ *Jacobite Narrative*, 46-50. Six causes of James's failure are acutely analysed.

² Avaux, March $\frac{13}{23}$, 1689, March $\frac{15}{25}$, 1689.

troops of horse and dragoons; that he had distributed amongst them about 20,000 arms, but most were so old and unserviceable that not above one thousand of the fire-arms were found afterwards to be of any use; that the old troops, consisting of one battalion of Guards, together with Macarthy's, Clancarty's, and Newcomen's regiments, were pretty well armed, as also seven companies of Mountjoy's which were with them, the other six having stayed in Derry, with Colonel Lundy and Gustavus Hamilton, the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of that regiment; that he had three regiments of horse—Tyrconnel's, Russell's, and Galmoy's—and one of dragoons; that the Catholics of the country had no arms, whereas the Protestants had that plenty, and the best horses in the kingdom; for great artillery he had but eight small field-pieces in a condition to march, the rest not mounted, no stores in the magazines, little powder and ball, all the officers gone to England and no money in cash.”¹ James was also informed that “the Protestants of the south were disarmed and that although those of the north were everywhere fleeing before the king's troops, they would make a stand at Londonderry, which for Ireland is a town of some strength; and that the struggle there might last for some days.”² On these reports James thus comments in his *Memoirs*: “This was the condition of Ireland at his Majesty's landing, there was a great deal of goodwill in the Kingdom but little means to execute it, which made the Prince of Orange slight it to that degree he did; but as soon as he heard of the King's being gone thither (who he imagined would not come unprovided with what they most wanted) was hugely surprised.” That James was not dissatisfied with the position of affairs is evidenced by his creating the Lord Deputy Duke of Tyrconnel.

He took measures to forbid the export of wool to England, but allowed it to be sent to France. He commenced his journey to his capital, and arriving on Sunday

¹ Clarke, *James II.*; cf. O'Kelly's *Macariae Excidium*, p. 297.

² Avaux to Louis, from Cork, March $\frac{29}{19}$, 1689.

the 24th was greeted with many demonstrations of joy. The musicians played the appropriate air "The King enjoys his own again." Tyrconnel bore the sword of state before him. The judges, the heralds, and the lord mayor with the aldermen, took part in the state procession. James, met at the castle gate by four of his bishops bearing the Host, alighted from his horse and fell on his knees to receive the blessing from his primate. Then he arose and was led to the chapel of his palace, once—strangely enough—the riding house of Henry Cromwell. Over the castle waved a banner inscribed with this device—

Now or never :

Now and for ever.¹

The next morning he summoned a meeting of the Privy Council, erased the name of Lord Granard and Chief Justice Keating from its list, and ordered Avaux and Bishop Cartwright to be sworn in.² He then issued a series of proclamations attempting to raise the value of the currency, calling a Parliament for the 7th of May following, requiring all who had fled from the kingdom to return under pledge of protection, commending his Roman Catholic subjects for having armed themselves, ordering all who were not in the service to store their guns, directing the carriage of provisions to the north, and forbidding his army from seizing any without payment.

James now found that two distinct, even contradictory, lines of policy were pressed upon him by his English and Irish supporters respectively. The features of the English Jacobite are well known for they have been drawn by a succession of skilled artists, and in him is to be discerned the characteristic weakness of the House of Stuart—a greater regard for dynastic than for national interests. To him the sovereign meant a great deal, the state very little indeed. The Lord's Anointed might

¹ At the General Election of 1892 these words reappeared. The Celtic race possesses long memories. *Apology for the Protestants of Ireland*; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi.; *State Tracts*, 3.

² Clarke, ii. 330; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 47.

commit iniquity and still be able to rely upon the personal devotion of his liege. On the other hand, the features of the Irish Jacobite cannot be drawn in clear outline, for they are sometimes veiled in the shifting mists of variety, sometimes hidden in the dim shadows of uncertainty. His ancestors cared for the first James because he was descended from their own Milesian kings, but this attachment was not reciprocated, and the feeling passed away. The Celt wants to see a sovereign regularly in order to adore him. James I. he never saw, and the ministers he sent failed to develop the feeling of devotedness to his dynasty. Moreover, all the traditions of an Irish Jacobite were those of a man with ancestors in persistent opposition to the line of Stuart. His grandfather perhaps shared the flight of the earls to Spain. His father, it may be, had borne his part in the rebellion of 1641. He had been despoiled of some, if not all, of his family estate by Charles II. The romantic devotion of the Highlander to the name of Stuart meant absolutely nothing to him. The Jacobite poetry of Scotland and the parallel poetry of Ireland offer a strange contrast—the former is dynastic and personal, the latter is neither; it speaks almost exclusively of Ireland and exhibits a passionate devotion to it. The Highland loyal fervour was inconceivable to the Celt, for to him the words sovereign and oppressor were more or less, chiefly more, convertible terms. A follower of William cared as much for James as he himself cared. In fact the attitude of Louis of France and the Jacobite of Ireland to the fallen monarch was not widely different. They both used him for a definite purpose, and when this use was fulfilled they intended to pay but scant attention to the instrument they had employed. It was the intention of Louis that James should keep William busily engaged in order that he might have no leisure to thwart his continental schemes. The Irish Jacobite aimed at recovering the land of his forefathers as the reward of his support of James.¹ His grievances

¹ Cf. Bonn, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland*, ii. 151: "The Irish, who had remained faithful to the King, wanted him to throw over the English planters: it was a

were mainly economic, and the year 1688 seemed to present a suitable opportunity for their redress. By supporting James he might secure the co-operation of France and thus pave the way to a restoration of his own ancient possessions, for the defeat of England would inevitably mean the disappearance of the colonist. He cared but little that James should recover his throne in England. That James should recover England was not a matter of the smallest interest to him. In fact his interests and those of James were in direct opposition. If James were king once more of England, he must pay heed to his subjects there, and this meant that he could not yield sufficient deference to the wishes of the Irish Jacobite. He wanted in the last resort the independence of his native island with perhaps James reigning over him.

To the English Jacobite these aspirations were largely incomprehensible. He regarded Dublin as one stage in the return journey to London.¹ He was as much an exile in Dublin Castle as he had been at Saint Germain. In fact of the two courts he much preferred the latter, for there he met men whom he understood and whose feelings he could divine. Moreover, he perceived that if his master yielded to the pressure of the Irish Jacobite, his hopes of crossing the Irish Sea to England were never destined to be realised. When measures were proposed the thought could never be long absent from his mind, What will be the opinion of England about them? He knew that if the Irish party despoiled the Protestants in Ireland all his chances were doomed. If, on the other hand, James's policy showed a broad-minded toleration to them, then his prospects of recall vastly improved. It is to James's

matter of no interest to them whether he won back his English crown or not. The King wished to subdue his rebellious subjects in England with Irish help, but he did not wish to lessen English power in Ireland."

¹ Klopp, v. 7: Melfort "pleaded most urgently the plan of crossing to England. Since this plan corresponded neither to the instructions of the ambassador, Avaux, nor to the wishes of the Irish, they one and all opposed Melfort. . . . Not once in his reports to James does a single ray of light glimmer on the one important point that behind all the French talk of the obstacles and objections to this crossing is concealed the one important principle to hold England in check by Ireland, by King James on Irish soil." Macpherson, i. 319 sqq.

credit that he tried—for a time, at least—to hold the balance true. He drew up a proclamation assuring the colonists of their restoration to their estates and of their admission to office, but the Irish and French successfully opposed its publication.

The despatches of Tyrconnel and the *Journal* of John Stevens reveal the existence of the chasm that yawned between the two types of thought. The want of sympathy and the lack of understanding are plainly visible in every line they write. The prevailing Irish sentiments can be seen in Bishop Molowny's letter to Bishop Tyrrel, wherein he warns his correspondent that a grave fallacy lurks in the theory that affairs in England must be arranged as an indispensable preliminary to the settlement of their own restoration: "Which is the same as to say at Doomsday: For never a Catholic or other Englishman will ever think or make a step, nor suffer the King to make a step for your restoration, but leave you as you were hitherto and leave your enemies over your heads to crush you any time they please, and cut you off root and branch as they now publicly declare; and blame themselves they have not taken away your lives along with your estates long ago! nor is there any English Catholic or other, of what quality or degree soever alive, that will stick to sacrifice all Ireland for to save the least interest of his own in England and would as willingly see all Ireland over inhabited by English of whatsoever religion, as by the Irish. And yet by their fine politics, they would persuade the Irish to come and save their houses from burning, whilst they leave their own on fire; which is no better than to look upon people as so many fools, when everybody knows that charity begins at home; that one's charity for himself is the rule and measure of that he ought to have for his neighbour; *diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*. Is it not a better and more Christian policy for the King and all that are faithful unto him, to restore first a whole Kingdom that stands out for him, when all the rest failed, to their birthright which they have been out of these thirty-six years only for being obstinately loyal to his father, brother and himself, than to

displease those who have been and are still loyal (and who can get any condition they please from the enemy to join with them), by thus pleasing or trimming with those who never were, or ever will be true or faithful; and when they are thus restored, and no enemies left in their bowels that can do his Majesty or them any harm then to go in a strong body together with his Majesty into England, join with all such that will prove faithful and loyal and so restore his Majesty to his throne, and each one to his right? I would fain know from these trimming politics whether it be not securer and more honourable for the King to offer all fair means and shew his clemency to his people when he is in condition to force them to what he pleases to exact of them, than to be daily undervaluing himself by offering them all the fair means imaginable which they slight and scorn, because they seeing he has no means to force them or do them harm, think he does all only out of fear, and not by any sincere or true affection? And I would fain further know, if it be not better and greater policy for him to put the Kingdom of Ireland (still so loyal unto him) upon the best and highest foot both ecclesiastical and temporal he can contrive, and yet granting nothing but its natural right and due, that it may be a check upon the people of England, who are ready every new moon to rebel, than to keep it still in a continual slavery and full dependence on such perfidious and inconstant people, and himself deprived of the support he can still have from thence against their revolt? I dare aver, if Ireland were put upon such a foot by the King, he shall never fear any rebellion in England especially if Scotland be faithful to him and France a friend; all which can now be well contrived and concerted.”¹

The last sentence gives an important clue to the policy pursued by the Irish Jacobites, for they followed Bishop Molowny's advice and placed implicit trust in France. Of course Avaux sympathised with the Bishop, for though their aims were different the measures they advocated were

¹ The date of Bishop Molowny's letter is March 8, 1689. King, pp. 353-365.

identical.¹ Tyrconnel and the French were desirous of leading James in one path, while Melfort and the English wanted to conduct him along a road diametrically opposite. James saw, on the one hand, that he must assist the Irish to realise the hopes raised by his own Lord Deputy ; on the other, that if he expected to be restored to England he must protect the colonists. The two lines of policy were absolutely incompatible, but, standing hesitatingly at the parting of the ways, he tried to achieve the impossible, and effect a conciliation of divergent interests by a policy of mere oscillation. Thus at one time he urged the Protestant bishops to oppose the repeal of the Act of Settlement, at another he insisted on its speedy revocation. An extract from the journals of the proceedings in the Irish Parliament reveals the vacillating character of his policy. On the 28th of May 1689, a motion of adjournment for a holiday was brought forward. The king asked, "What holiday?" Answer, "The restoration of his brother and himself." He replied, "The fitter to restore those loyal Catholic gentlemen who had suffered with him and been kept unjustly out of their estates. The motion rejected." James saw at the time, and more clearly long afterwards, that his land policy must set the English faction against the Irish. Two passages in his *Memoirs* are highly significant. "Nothing but his unwillingness," he maintains, "to disgust those who were otherwise affectionate subjects could have extorted his consent to the Irish policy from him. It had without doubt been more generous in the Irish not to have pressed so hard upon their prince when he lay so much at their mercy, and more prudent not to have grasped at regaining all before they were sure of keeping what they already possessed." "But the Irish, by reckoning themselves sure of their game, when in reality they had the worst of it, thought of nothing but settling themselves in riches and plenty by breaking the Act of Settlement, and by that means raise new enemies before they were

¹ Cf. Avaux, $\frac{\text{Mar. 25}}{\text{Apr. 4}}$, 1689, April $\frac{13}{23}$.

secure of mastering those they had already on their hands." He yielded to pressure, and, unfortunately for him, it became known that he would yield to pressure. Louis and Avaux at last triumphed, and James became as clay in the hand of the potter. The two Frenchmen discerned that the prospects of a counter English revolution were small indeed, while those of an Irish revolution were tolerably great. Ireland might possibly secure a nominal independence, but France would be the power behind the throne. The colonists could be expelled, the Roman Catholics restored, and their Church be made the established Church of the nation. Ireland would be linked to France by the strong tie of a common hostility to England. Louis might count on the Irish to fight his battles and their land to provision his troops. The harbours of the country, especially in the south, would afford support to his navy whence his ships might issue forth to harass the trade of England. Little wonder then that with these aims in view Avaux supported the Irish party so heartily. Louvois was delighted to receive from his political agent such welcome news. The best thing, Louvois replied, that King James could do would be to forget that he had ever reigned in Great Britain and to think only of putting Ireland into a good condition, and of establishing himself firmly there.¹ The policy of France had won a complete triumph with the success of the diplomacy of the wily Avaux, and Louis now seemed to hold within his grasp the necessary instruments for his deeply laid plans.

¹ Louvois to Avaux, June $\frac{3}{13}$, 1689.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLE IN THE NORTH

AN opportunity was not wanting to test the influence of the Irish and English factions, and it was evident that James felt reluctant to throw himself completely into the hands of the Irish. Troops under the brigadier, Pusignan, were sent north to reinforce the Jacobite army, and the question that exercised the parties was, Should James follow them? or, Should he stay in Dublin? Both sides set forth plausible reasons why James should or should not go. But behind it all lay the real issue at stake—Were the English or the Irish to rule in the counsels of James? If he remained in Dublin, there was little doubt that the French party would win the day, while if he marched northwards the English stood to gain a decisive victory.¹ When Londonderry fell—and its fall was believed to be imminent—he might sail for Scotland, where his House was sure of loyal, personal support.²

In the Council a trial of strength ensued between Tyrconnel and Melfort, and the latter won, to the deep mortification of Avaux.³ The French ambassador accurately diagnosed the underlying motives of these prominent advocates of the opposing policies. Of Tyrconnel he wrote enthusiastically. "If he were a born Frenchman he

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 240. Sarsfield writes that the French interest is too predominant in Ireland, and that the late king cannot bestow any considerable places upon any without the consent of the French ambassador.

² Avaux to Louvois, ^{Mar. 25}_{Apr. 4}, 1689.

³ *Ireland's Lamentation*, pp. 26-29; the letters of Avaux during April 1689.

could not be more zealous for the interests of France.”¹ Of Melfort he truly observed: “He is neither a good Irishman nor a good Frenchman. All his affections are set on his own country.”² It is impossible to state more lucidly or more concisely the essential difference between the competing factions.

James set out on his march Ulsterwards, and Avaux accompanied him, resolved, if opportunity offered, to discount the advantage gained by his adversary. Tyrconnel was left in Dublin in charge, but in a subtle sense he went with them, for in the desertion of the country they beheld the results of his policy.³ The people had fled, and it was consequently difficult to provide sustenance for either man or beast. Even at the royal table food was so scarce that guests had their bread and wine carefully doled out to them. Rumour went that bad as was their plight at present, it would become much worse when they marched from Charlemont to Strabane. The weather too proved unpropitious, and the elements fought against them. When they reached Omagh on the 16th of April, James received alarming letters, announcing that at Strabane the Protestants had assembled in strength, and that near the mouth of the Foyle English men-of-war had been sighted.⁴ The untoward news shook the resolution of James, and, to the despair of Melfort and the delight of Avaux, he announced his determination to retrace his steps. They returned to Charlemont, but there James found awaiting him a despatch telling him that the Protestants of Strabane had retired before Hamilton, and that Derry must shortly surrender. The wavering monarch once more changed his mind, and that night he again rode northward.⁵ Avaux, overcome by the hardships of the journey and piqued by Melfort's

¹ Avaux to Louis, May $\frac{17}{7}$, 1689.

² Avaux, May $\frac{8}{18}$, 1689.

³ Avaux, $\frac{\text{Mar. } 25}{\text{Apr. } 4}$, 1689.

⁴ Avaux to Louvois, April $\frac{25}{15}$, 1689.

⁵ Clarke, ii. pp. 330, 334, 335; *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. i. fol. No. 16: “La seule chose, sire,” wrote Avaux, “qui pourra nous faire de la peine est l'irrésolution du roy d'Angleterre, qui change souvent d'avis, et ne se détermine pas toujours au meilleur. Il s'arreste aussy beaucoup à de petites choses, où il employe tout son temps, et passe légèrement sur les plus essentielles.”

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE REVOLUTIONARY IRELAND

Scale of English Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40





fresh triumph, definitely decided to go back. His decision served his cause. The farther north James went the more the Irish distrusted him. The farther south Avaux came the more they believed in him. The Irish determination to rely on French assistance seemed to receive a fresh impulse.

In the meantime Hamilton had been conducting his campaign with surprising rapidity. His policy was to bring matters to a head as swiftly as possible; on the other hand, his enemies resorted to Fabian tactics of masterly inactivity until an army should arrive from England. The Central Council proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen in the market-places at Armagh and at Hillsborough, and the other towns devoted to them. Tyrconnel, imitating the methods of William, asked the Reverend Alexander Osborne to assure the northern leaders of free pardon in case they should lay down their arms. Osborne merely promised to convey this message, but in addition thereto he placed before the nobility and gentry at Loughbrickland a memorandum of his own.¹ Of its seven heads three deserve quotation. "1. That for the Irish army, though their horses were good, yet their riders were but contemptible fellows, many of them having been lately cow-herds, etc."² 2. That their provisions of ammunition were not plentiful. 3. That should those of the north comply with the offers made to them, they had no reason to expect any true performance, the Lord Tyrconnel having broken all such capitulations as he had lately made in the like case with the Protestants in the south and west of Ireland, and thereby reduced them to poverty and slavery."³ This communication shows the impressions created by the Jacobite breaches of faith in the cases of Captain Dixie and Lord Mountjoy. Osborne warned the Council, "as they value their lives

¹ Its date is March 9, 1688⁸/₉.

² Cf. *Ireland's Lamentation*, p. 31: "Those of their present army, both officers and soldiers, are mostly the very scum of the country, cowboys and such trash, as tremble at the firing of a musket, much more will at many."

³ Walker, p. 47; cf. Leslie, Appendix, p. 15.

and interests, not to put confidence in the Lord Tyrconnel or any of his promises, but if they possibly could to defend themselves to the utmost."¹ "Lying Dick Talbot" had every reason to deplore his reputation for perfidy.

As Osborne came from Dublin his account of the troops there was regarded as particularly valuable, and served to raise the sinking spirits of the men of the north. They rejected the proposals of Tyrconnel, and scattered broadcast copies of Osborne's optimistic communication.² He it was, too, who brought them the first intelligence of the advance of Hamilton, whose steps, curiously enough, had been hastened by a letter from another clergyman, O'Haggerty. The Council were still debating when they heard with consternation that the forces of the enemy were but a few miles distant. The Williamites were compelled to retire, burning and destroying provisions and forage on the expected line of march.³ At Dromore, in County Down, Sir Arthur Rawdon tried to make a stand, but when Hamilton's men arrived in sight his tenants fled. The Break of Dromore was the first serious repulse the Ulstermen had sustained. Their main body, under Rawdon and Major Baker, made its way to Coleraine, where it was joined by Lord Blayney from Armagh and Colonel Stewart from Dungannon. Hamilton followed them to Coleraine and was repulsed there.⁴ James, in consequence of this defeat, resolved to support Hamilton with his army.⁵ Near Portglenone they crossed the Bann and the Williamites were therefore obliged to fall back upon Derry.⁶ The only other place in Ulster that withstood James was Enniskillen. As the Jacobites afterwards crowded to Limerick, so now on all sides men hurried to the maiden city. They came from Antrim,

¹ Boyse, *Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Alexander Osborn*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.* p. 16; cf. Walker, *Vindication of the True Account of the Siege of Derry*, p. 16.

³ Story, p. 13.

⁴ Mackenzie, ch. ii.; *Ireland's Lamentation*, p. 26; Bennet, *True and Impartial Account of the most material Passages in Ireland, since Dec. 1688*, pp. 13, 17.

⁵ Avaux to Louis, from Dublin, April $\frac{14}{4}$, 1689.

⁶ *Négociations de M. Le Comte D'Avaux en Irlande, 1689-90*, p. 91; *Jacobite Narrative*, 45-46.

Down, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Donegal.¹ A sober estimate puts the number of the fugitives at 30,000 and of these some 7000 were declared fit for military service.²

The city of refuge is picturesquely situated on the left bank of the river Foyle, some four miles above the point where the river empties its waters into the lough. On the south and west lie low hills, on the east and north flows the river, which at the city is over forty feet in depth and more than a thousand feet in breadth. The site gently ascends from the water to the Cathedral, and the houses are evidently at the mercy of men-of-war anchored in the river. In 1689 there were no houses on the right bank, and no bridge spanned the broad waters of the Foyle. The shape of the city was an ellipse, and its four principal streets formed a cross, the arms of which met in a square called the Diamond. Where each of these streets touched the wall a gate was pierced. On the north was Ship's Gate, on the south Bishop's Gate, on the east New Gate, on the west Butcher's Gate.³ The fortifications had originally been erected by the colonists to repel the attacks of the dispossessed Celts. The encircling wall, a mile in circumference, built of earth and stone, was over twenty feet high, from six to twelve feet thick and strengthened by nine bastions at the corners and sides, and by two half bastions. For the defence of these the London Companies had provided eight sakers and twelve demiculverins. Near the wall on the south side lay a strong fort on Windmill Hill.

The scanty store of supplies had been on the 21st of March 1689 augmented by Captain James Hamilton, who brought with him from England 480 barrels of powder, arms for 10,000 men, and £595 in money.⁴ The amount of provisions on hand was lamentably inadequate, especially when account is taken of the number within the walls.

¹ Aickin, *Londerias*, ii. 5 ; Bennet, p. 18.

² Avaux, April $\frac{4}{14}$, 1689 ; cf. *Macariae Excidium*, 320-321.

³ *Ordnance Survey of County Londonderry*, p. 99.

⁴ Hempton, *Siege and History of Londonderry*, p. 393 ; Bennet, p. 16.

In the city there were 7500 trained soldiers, and the volunteers increased their ranks to 10,000 or 12,000. The weakness of Derry lay not in its men but in their commander, and in the bad condition into which the wall had been allowed to fall. Lundy, whose conduct at Strabane did not suggest whole-hearted adherence to the cause of William, was actually holding secret communications with James. His motives are not easily read, but a certain lack of physical courage combined with a want of public spirit marked him out as unfitted to discharge his duty in the strenuous times into which his lot had been cast. He endeavoured first to induce the Ulster garrisons to retreat to Derry, then to bring about the surrender of his own city. He ordered Colonel Stewart to give up Dungannon and Lord Kingston to abandon Sligo, and he also attempted to withdraw the garrisons at Ballyshannon and Enniskillen. These last commands complicated matters later, for the Jacobites occupied Sligo forthwith, recognising its importance in securing admittance to Ulster. The retreat of these men gave rise to much despondency in England. In fact, Lundy's tone was so despairing that many officers left the town and more prepared to follow their example. On his return from London, Cairns, who had gone as a member of the deputation, carried with him a letter from William informing Lundy "that his Majesty's greatest concern hath been for Ireland, and particularly for the province of Ulster, which he looks upon as most capable to defend itself against the common enemy. And that they might be the better enabled to do it, there are two regiments already at the sea-side ready to embark . . . with which will be sent a good quantity of arms and ammunition, and they will be so speedily followed by so considerable a body, as (by the blessing of God) may be able to rescue the whole kingdom and resettle the Protestant interest there."¹ In penning so confident a despatch William had not bargained for the unhappy duplicity of the

¹ Shrewsbury to Lundy, March 8, 1688⁸/₉; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 16-17.

governor. When the Jacobites crossed the Bann they advanced steadily and reached the waterside of Derry on the 13th of April. Lundy did not strengthen the men employed to guard the fords of the Finn. Major Stroud counselled that harrows should be sunk at the fords in order to impede the movements of the cavalry. His advice was disregarded, and in the sequel it proved an easy matter for Rosen to cross at Cladyford.¹

The same day that Rosen forded the Finn, Colonels Cunningham and Richards brought 1600 troops from England.² Lundy conferred with these officers and persuaded them that it was useless to land their men, for the place must fall into the hands of the enemy within a short time, as there were not provisions for 3000 men for ten days.³ Colonel Richards put the case for holding out most forcibly when he said that "in quitting the town they were quitting the kingdom,"⁴ but his warning was not heeded. The Governor told the officers that he was going to withdraw secretly. The man-of-war and the nine transports sailed away with the contingent they had brought and also took away with them the principal gentry of Derry, and the chief officers of the garrison.⁵

When James drew near Derry he sent Lundy a letter, calling upon him to surrender the town.⁶ The Governor held another meeting, at which some sympathisers with his policy were present. For the surrender of the town James offered them their horses, their arms, and liberty to live in peace—terms which did not arouse enthusiastic support. The doings of the two Councils leaked out. It dawned on the townsmen that their Governor had arranged the surrender of the town, and this news, together with that of the advancing Jacobite army, spread from one to another, and aroused them to the highest pitch of excitement. Meanwhile James drew near the doomed city and felt

¹ Hempton, p. 395.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 29.

³ Cf. the instructions issued to Colonel Cunningham, February, 22, 1688, and to Governor Lundy, March 12, 1688-9.

⁴ Cf. the *Journals of the House of Commons*, August 12, 1689.

⁵ Hempton, pp. 397-400; Walker, *True Account*, April 15 and 17; *A True Account*.

⁶ Melfort's letter, April 14, 1689. It was not received till the 17th.

much as Napoleon did when he approached Malta.¹ In each case the friend inside could materially facilitate the capture. Unluckily for James, the action of his friend was suspected. The citizens cried out that they had been bought and sold by another Judas, that he had sent away the English succour for their relief, and had delivered them into the power of their deadliest enemy. While this heated dispute was proceeding the sentries announced that the advance guard was in sight. Lundy had commanded that no shot should be fired; but his authority was over. Captain Adam Murray was at once acclaimed leader by citizens and soldiers alike. He called upon all that were determined to fight to the last to wear white, the Bourbon colour, on their left arm. Murray and Major Henry Baker now summoned the people to arms. Their efforts were ably seconded by the fiery words of an old clergyman, George Walker, rector of Donaghmore. The walls in front of the advancing army were lined with defenders and the guns manned. James, sure of surrender, came close to Bishop's Gate only to be greeted with the cry of "No surrender" and the roar of cannon. He retired as despondently as he had advanced confidently. The execrated Lundy hid himself from the fury of the people, and, with the assistance of Murray and Baker, escaped by night in the disguise of a private soldier.² In this or some other humble capacity he might have served his country worthily, but his conduct as Governor proved his unfitness for responsibility, and illustrated once again the applicability of the caustic phrase of Tacitus, *omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*. "Who," says Bacon, "can see worse days than he that, yet living, doth follow at the funeral of his own reputation?"³ In the north of Ireland he has achieved an unenviable form

¹ Duc de Berwick, *Mémoires*. James "expected to make himself master of Londonderry by means of Colonel Lundy, the Governor of that place, who, lying under several obligations to the Duke of Berwick, promised to deliver it to him" (*Life of the Duke of Berwick*, London, 1738). A lieutenant in James's army wrote a letter from Dublin, May 7, 1689: "The King had such interest within the place (*i.e.* Derry) as to keep out two regiments sent thither from England" (*Ireland's Lamentation*, p. 34). Yet see

Avaux to Louis, ^{May 6} April 26, 1689. *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91), 41.

² Walker, p. 20. After his escape he did not join the Irish army of James.

³ See the penultimate paragraph in the essay on "Death."

of immortality, for there, year by year, they burn "the traitor" in effigy, much as in England, though with less justice, they burn the effigy of Guy Fawkes.¹

The citizens were so pleased with the conduct of Murray that they wanted to elect him as Governor.² He refused the office, and his refusal does him credit, for his gifts qualified him for service in the field rather than in the council room. Major Baker was therefore elected, and when he required a colleague he named Walker. To the soldier was committed the care of the military supplies, while the clergyman was placed over the provisions, and the governance of the city was also allotted to him.³ To Colonel Murray was assigned the charge of the cavalry. When a thousand old men, women, and children retired, there were no less than 20,000 inside the walls.⁴ The men were placed under eight colonels. Many of their officers had slipped away with Cunningham, and each company whose officer had deserted it was allowed to choose its captain. The strength of the city most emphatically lay in the courage and determination of those who guarded its ramparts. The spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides lived on in these dour and resolute men. The all-pervasive dread of the Church of Rome coloured their theology, and compelled them to see the Pope as Antichrist, whom it was their bounden duty to resist. The boundaries of race coincided with those of religion and they felt towards the natives much as a southern planter felt towards his slaves. Contemporary writers noted in them something of the Castilian haughtiness of manner, founded upon the conscious superiority of a dominant people.⁵ The men and women were deeply penetrated by a vivid sense of the

¹ Ash, *Diary*, April 18-20, July 2; Mackenzie, April 18; Walker, April 17; Hempton, 398.

² "Londerias" likens him to Hamilcar and Regulus and announces that—

"The name of Murray grew so terrible
That he alone was thought invincible:
Where'er he came, the Irish fled away."

³ Boyse, pp. 2, 24; *Mr. John Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry, a False Libel; in defence of Dr. George Walker. Written by his Friend in his Absence*, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 318-322.

⁵ *The Character of the Protestants of Ireland*, 1689; *The Interest of England in the Preservation of Ireland*, 1689.

omnipresence of their Maker. They felt that they were "for ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye," and this feeling rendered them earnest and determined.¹ Their detachment from the world made them cultivate the spirit of austerity at home, and their aloofness from all forms of amusement, even the most innocent, developed a certain sternness of demeanour abroad. Puritanism was the great tower of strength to be besieged. The Puritans of the Revolution imitated with conspicuous success the methods of their fathers in the great civil war. Praying and preaching proved as potent a means of defence as bullet and ball. The eighteen clergy of the Church of Ireland and the seven or eight Nonconformist ministers exerted themselves to comfort and sustain their people. "Put your trust in God, and keep your powder dry," is a remark ascribed to the practical Oliver Cromwell. The appearance of the cathedral during the siege illustrated the twofold aspect of this saying. Every morning the liturgy of the Irish Church was used, while every afternoon the Dissenters employed their form of worship. On the tower of the cathedral cannon were erected, and in its vaults ammunition was stored. The defender of Derry was confident that whether he prayed or fought he was equally fulfilling the will of God.²

James made a last appeal to the citizens of the maiden city. On the 20th of April the Earl of Abercorn came to confer with Murray. His terms were more liberal than those offered previously. He was authorised to extend a free pardon to the garrison, to restore their estates, and to allow the public exercise of their religion. Murray was to receive a colonel's commission and a thousand pounds. "The men of Londonderry," answered Murray, "have done nothing that requires a pardon, and own no sovereign but King William and Queen Mary. It will not be safe for your Lordship to stay longer, or to return on the same errand."³ Till then James, forgetting the difference between Irish and English Jacobitism, had

¹ "Londerias" describes John Mackenzie as having "taught the army to fear God's great name."

² Mackenzie, pp. 222-224.

³ Mackenzie, April 19 and 20; Walker, April 20; Bennet, p. 20.

believed that a personal appeal would result in the surrender of Derry. The star of Avaux was in the ascendant. James returned to Dublin for the opening of Parliament, and Rosen went with him. Maumont succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief, with Hamilton and Pusignan as his chief subordinates. According to the Duke of Berwick the besiegers amounted to about 6000 and their headquarters lay at Carrigans and Saint Johnstown.¹ They lacked heavy siege guns, but with mortars and cannon they kept up a brisk fire both by night and day. Roofs and chimneys crashed in, and bombs tore up the streets. The besieged promptly pulled up the pavements, thus leaving a soft bed of clay or sand upon which the shells fell with comparatively little effect.² The efficient Pointis effectively alarmed the garrison by his explosive shells. When he rectified the faults of his material he set to work to bombard the city vigorously. In eighty-nine days he threw 587 bombs, of which 326 were small and 261 large. We can judge of the formidable nature of the shells of those days when we hear that the largest, weighing 273 pounds, carried a charge of 16 pounds of powder.³ The grave danger to the besieged was that some of these shells might explode their precious powder magazine. As they had neither bombs nor mortars it was out of their power to reply to the fire of Lord Louth and his men. Incessantly the bombs came, and wrought desperate havoc among the non-combatants. So little daunted were the besieged that on the 21st of April a party sallied out under Murray, and in a cavalry encounter that ensued Maumont was slain, and his aide-de-camp, Montmejan, seriously wounded.⁴

Hamilton again became *generalissimo*, a post for which he was utterly unsuited.⁵ Pusignan might have helped

¹ Berwick, *Memoirs*, i. 340-345.

² Bennet, p. 23.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 264-265: "One bum slew 17 persons. I was in the next room one night at my supper—which was but mean—and 7 men were thrown out of the third room next to that we were in, and some of them in pieces."

⁴ Mackenzie, April 21; Aickin, bk. iii. 3; cf. Avaux to Louvois, ^{May 6} April 26, 1689.

⁵ Avaux remarks of him that "his incapacity was so great that it made his fidelity suspected." His despatch to Louvois of May ¹⁴ 4 sheds much light on the state of Hamilton's army; Louvois to Avaux, June ³ 13, 1689.

his inexperience and incapacity, but in a skirmish at Pennyburn he was fatally wounded.¹ Under cover of darkness the gallant Brigadier-General Ramsay, in the endeavour to secure a closer position on which to mount his gun, assaulted the Windmill fort and drove in the outposts. The Governor assailed him so vigorously that the enemy found it necessary to withdraw. Ramsay and 200 men were slain and 500 were wounded.² The besieged lamented the loss of 3 killed and 20 wounded. Among the prisoners were Lord Netterville, Sir George Aylmer, and Colonel Talbot, Tyrconnel's brother. The captured banners were proudly hung in the cathedral, and worshippers were doubtless inspired to renewed exertions by the sight of these trophies. They also seized drums, arms, ammunition, and "good store of spades, shovels, and pickaxes." For the rest of May there was no more fighting, due, according to Walker, "to the enemy's want of courage and our want of horse."³ The Jacobites, however, advanced more closely to the town, and the siege became a blockade. Letters could no longer pass freely from the besieged to their friends in the country. The Jacobite headquarters moved from Saint Johnstown to Ballougry Hill, and the troops at Brookhall came to Pennyburn. They successfully assaulted Culmore, thereby diminishing the probability of relief coming by sea. Near this place a boom had been stretched across the river, protected at each side by a strong fort; and the Frenchman who had designed it wrote to Louis, assuring him that he intended to make another boom higher up the river, and then what he desired was that the English would come, so that he should have the pleasure of defeating them.⁴

¹ Cf. Berwick, *Memoirs*, i. 115, 220, 281-282; Avaux, ^{April 26} ^{May 6}, 1689.

² Avaux reckons "more than sixty or eighty" were killed. Avaux to Louis, May ²⁰/₁₀, 1689; *Jacobite Narrative*, 76.

³ *Diary*, p. 117.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1689-90, pp. 147-148. Yet see Avaux. August ¹⁴/₄ describes its construction: "Beams, joined one to the other by (iron) bands; each end of a beam is attached to the side of that one to which it is joined by two iron

The cannonade went on briskly during June, but no strong attack on the town was made till the 4th of the month. The Jacobites then renewed their assault on Windmill Hill, near Bishop's Gate. Their horse under Captain Butler, son of Lord Mountgarret, came on, each rider carrying a bundle of faggots in order to fill up the trench. A heavy fire met them but it made little impression till directed at the horses, as the men wore armour under their dress. On the walls the colonists were drawn up in three ranks and acted as if they were veterans. The two ranks behind being thus always ready to fire in their turn, the Jacobites received a continuous shower of bullets. The women of Derry, even under the heavy fire of the enemy, fetched water, bread, and ammunition to their husbands and brothers. When the grenadiers pressed their kinsmen sorely they hurled stones at them with considerable effect. This was the most important attempt made to storm the town, and it cost the Jacobites about 400 men, while the citizens lost 7.¹ The defence had been so stout that the assailants resolved to starve the garrison out. The number in the city was vast, and the supply of food scanty. Every care was exercised to prevent relief being brought from outside. All the land approaches were closely watched, while the boom and the fort at Culmore prevented aid coming from the sea. Captain Guillam in the *Greyhound* was unable to pass the fort. On the 11th of June General Kirke, with thirty vessels, reached Lough Foyle, and on the 15th he was joined by Captain Leake in the *Dartmouth*.² The fleet carried large stores of provisions for the needy garrison, and a bold messenger informed them of this welcome

hooks, and I have run a rope along the length of the boom, from 5 to 6 inches thick, which is attached to the said beams by the iron hooks it passes. Care has been taken that the rope is attached to that part of the beams in the water, so as to take away the facility of cutting it. All this will make it very difficult to destroy. Shelter for our troops has been erected at either end of the stockade, from which they can easily attack those put to destroy it. You know well, sir, with what difficulty one works on that which is under water, yet to put every one at ease, I have to make another boom a little above this first, where I shall observe the same means, and I hope it will be made shortly." *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, June 17, pp. 154, 161; *Jacobite Narrative*, 64; cf. Dr. John Wallis's letter to the Earl of Nottingham, August 10; Walker, 136.

¹ Ash, June 4; Mackenzie, June 4; Walker, June 4.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 48, 74, 78, 80-81, 101-102, 107-108, 138, 142, 168, 199.

news. Kirke was afraid of the guns of Culmore, and thought the boom too strong to be passed. His arrival, therefore, within sight of the city was but as the cup of Tantalus to the half-starved citizens. Horseflesh was practically the only meat which could be bought, and of that the supply was not enough to meet the demand. They were compelled to eke out the deficiency with tallow, exactly measured out in small quantities. In their dire need, towards the end of the siege, weeds and herbs were greedily consumed. A mouse sold for sixpence, a rat for a shilling, a cat for four-and-sixpence, and a dog for six shillings. Butter was six-and-fourpence a pound; a peck of meal fetched six shillings.¹ The price of a small fish was precious handfuls of oatmeal; even the blood of the horse fetched twopence a quart.² A certain corpulent citizen imagined he saw his fellow-citizens surveying him carefully, as if they intended to eat him, and he thought it prudent to hide himself for three days. "I could not," wrote John Hunter, a citizen soldier, "get a drink of clean water, and suffered heavily from thirst, and was so distressed by hunger that I could have eaten any vermin, but could not get it. Yea, there was nothing that was any kind of flesh or food that I would not have eaten if I had it. May the good Lord, if it be His pleasure, never let poor man's son meet with such hardships as I met with at that great siege, for I cannot mention them as I ought. Oh! none will believe, but those who have found it by experience, what some poor creatures suffered in that siege. There were many who had been very curious respecting what they put into

¹ Walker, 148; *Hist. MSS. Com.* xi. 6. 185-186, Hamilton MSS., July 16, 1689: "This garrison hath lived upon cats, dogs, and horseflesh this three days, and now there remains no victuals of any kind in the garrison to live on, then three pound of salt hides, one pound of tallow, and one pint of meal a man, which we compute will not keep us alive any longer than next Wednesday (*i.e.* about five days)."

Hist. MSS. Com. xii. 7. 265: "But at last our provision grew scant and our allowance small, 1 lb. of oatmeal and 1 lb. of tallow served a man a week, sometimes salt hides. I saw 2s. a quarter given for a little dog, horse blood at 4d. a pint, all the starch was eaten, the graves of tallow, horse flesh was a rarity, and still we resolved to hold out. . . . When you see any of my friends that will ask for me, pray tell them that I am in good health, and am still in hopes that I shall not die in the field."

² *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 250. Contrast prices in the capital: "Good beef in Dublin at 1s. and 6d. per quarter, lamb 4d. a quarter, white loaf, weight 9 lbs., for 6d."

their mouths before they came to the siege of Londonderry, who, before that siege was ended, would have eaten what a dog would not eat, for they would have eaten a dead dog, and be very glad to eat it; and one dog will hardly eat another. I speak from woeful experience, for I myself would have eaten the poorest cat or dog I ever saw with my eyes. The famine was so great that many a man, woman and child died from want of food. I myself was so weak from hunger that I fell under my musket one morning as I was going to the walls; yet God gave me strength to continue all night at my post there, and enabled me to act the part of a soldier as if I had been as strong as ever I was; yet my face was black with hunger. I was so hard put to it by reason of the want of food, that I had hardly any heart to speak or walk; and yet when the enemy was coming, as many a time they did, to storm the walls, then I found out as if my former strength returned to me. I am sure it was the Lord who kept the city and none else; for there were many of us that could hardly stand on our feet before the enemy attacked the walls, who, when they were assaulting the out-trenches, ran out against them most nimbly and with great courage. Indeed, it was never the poor starving men that were in Derry that kept it out, but the mighty God of Jacob to whom be praise for ever and ever."¹ In the earlier stages of the siege thirty soldiers died daily, and towards the end the number rose to forty. The death-rate among the old men, women, and children was probably higher.² Indirectly this heavy mortality assisted in prolonging the siege, by making provisions last longer.³ Plague made deadly havoc, and in one day fifteen officers died of fever.⁴ The Governor, Major Baker, fell a victim, and named as his successor Colonel John Mitchelburne.⁵ Not only did

¹ Graham's *Ireland Preserved*, p. 365.

² Mitchelburne lost his wife and all his family—seven children—during the siege.

³ Cf. Walker's *Diary*, 111-114.

⁴ *A True Account*, p. 12.

⁵ He is the founder of many observances in Derry. With the permission of Bishop King he placed in the cathedral the flags taken from the French on May 7, 1689, and in 1713 Bishop Hartstonge allowed him to inscribe this fact on the east window. On

food supplies fail and pestilence prevail, but the war material began to give out. The supply of cannon-balls became exhausted, and their place was supplied by brick-bats and stones. And all the time the garrison could see friendly vessels in the lough, and knew that on board ample supplies were stored. A more intolerable situation it is difficult to conceive. The stout hearts of the citizens began to fail them, and the necessity of yielding was discussed.¹ In order to hasten the fall James sent Rosen once more to assume command. He was an officer of a coarse and strong type, and arrived determined to crush the city. There came with him ill-armed troops, and his presence restored the spirit of the besiegers.² He brought his lines nearer the walls, which he attempted to mine. The obstacles in the way of his delivering an effective attack can be gathered from the despatch of Avaux to Louis: "The besiegers are in want of everything; they have at present but thirty picks for working at the trenches, no cannon, the few which they have being employed to guard the river; most of their soldiers have deserted for want of money, and many of them possess neither swords nor sword-belts; meanwhile Kirke is within reach of the cannon of Culmore without having attempted to afford succour to the city, though he has wind and tide in his favour."³ It was perhaps a consciousness of this weakness that induced Hamilton to offer terms on the 27th of June. These were a free pardon, public exercise of their religion, restoration of their goods, especially of their cattle. Rosen gave them until the 1st of July to consider these proposals: after this date no hope of grace

the 1st of August 1718 the red flag which still adorns the steeple was hoisted, and by his will, dated July 12, 1621, he left £50 "for maintaining the flag on the steeple of Derry."

¹ *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol i. fol. No. 20-21.

² Avaux to Louis, from Dublin, June $\frac{26}{16}$.

³ Avaux, p. 255. He was puzzled by the fact that Kirke did not attempt to relieve the city. Cf. Avaux to Louis, July $\frac{15}{5}$, 1689, and Macpherson, i. 202, 204. On the condition of James's army, cf. Avaux to Louis, June $\frac{26}{16}$, Avaux to Louvois, May $\frac{12}{2}$, 1689.

could be entertained. When he reduced the town his army would have orders to give no quarter, and to spare neither age nor sex. Moreover, he would gather all the Protestants from Innishowen to Charlemont under the walls to be admitted by their friends or to starve outside. Remembering to what fearful straits those already within the walls were reduced, one can imagine the significance of Rosen's threat. Yet the spirit of the Puritans remained unconquered; they were resolved, says Walker, to eat their prisoners and then one another rather than to surrender to any one but King William.¹

On the 2nd of July Rosen kept his word. Hundreds of old men, women, and children were assembled under the ramparts to the dismay of their relatives. With a spirit worthy of Regulus they begged the citizens not to surrender out of pity to them. For forty-eight hours the inhuman commander kept them there.² The garrison erected a gallows and informed Rosen that his friends required a confessor to prepare them for instant death. Then he relented. It is to the credit of James that when he heard of this barbarity he censured Rosen and recalled him, leaving Hamilton in supreme command.³ As July advanced the plight of the garrison became more and more desperate by reason of the shortage of food and the insidious inroads of the pestilence. The survivors gazed wistfully at the vessels out in the lough, but no help came. It appeared at length as if the proud spirit of the citizens had been laid low, for they parleyed with their enemy. They would surrender on the 26th, if still unrelieved, provided they were allowed to march out with arms, and that they received hostages for the due fulfilment of the conditions agreed upon.⁴ These terms Hamilton could not grant. While the Council was deliberating a letter came to Walker from Kirke announcing

¹ Clark, ii. 367; King, 488-491.

² Ash, June 26, July 3, 4; Aickin, iv. 9; Mackenzie, June 30; Walker, June 30, July 2; Leslie, 138; *C.S.P., Dom.*, July 11, 1689, pp. 185; *Jacobite Narrative*, 79-80. Danguae, ii. 154; Clarke, ii. 388. Avaux wrote to Louis: "Le roy d'Angleterre s'est extrêmement fâché de cette déclaration (de Rosen) et n'a pas voulu qu'elle fût exécutée."

³ Macpherson, i. pp. 210-213, 310; Avaux, pp. 257, 309; Clarke, ii. 366.

⁴ Proposals of Articles, July 11, 1689.

that he was going to attempt the relief of the garrison. Schomberg had sent him a peremptory despatch which ordered the immediate relief of the town.¹ Roused at last, Kirke, on the 28th of July, issued his commands. Three small vessels laden with provisions under the protection of the *Dartmouth* frigate were to try the passage of the Foyle. The *Dartmouth* was commanded by Captain Leake; the victuallers were the *Mountjoy* of Derry, under Captain Micaiah Browning, a native of the city; the *Jerusalem*, under Captain Reynell; and the *Phoenix* of Coleraine, under Captain Andrew Douglas. At about seven in the evening the eager watchers on the walls saw three ships sail near the fort of Culmore. The frigate was to engage the fort, and the *Mountjoy* and the *Phoenix* were to attempt the boom. Taking advantage of the wind and rising tide, the vessels moved steadily forward. Leake covered the advance of the ships with his frigate and they passed the fort. Then came the formidable obstacle of the boom. The *Mountjoy* broke it, recoiled, and ran aground: the Jacobites were delighted and redoubled their fire. The sailors fired a broadside, and this time the recoil sent the vessel into deep water. The *Phoenix* crashed against the broken boom and passed through, it followed by the *Mountjoy*, whose gallant master, like Nelson, was struck down in the hour of triumph by a shot from the battery.² The two ships sailed slowly up the Foyle and at ten they reached the quay on that memorable Sunday evening.³ Laughing and weeping are closely akin, and the cheers of the citizens mingled with the tears of the women as they raised their grateful faces to Almighty God who had delivered them in their hour of sore distress. The days of hunger and hardship were all over. The walls blazed with bonfires

¹ The Nairne MSS. (Bodleian Library) contains a copy of it. Cf. *Jacobite Narrative*, 84.

² *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 255: "Captain Browning ship stoped at the bomb wher he was killed (and) the boat swayne mate of the Swallow who commanded her long boat cut tthe bombe soe that the waight of the ship broke it and the ships went up but with soe little wind that the long boat towed the Mountjoy all the way to the towne."

³ Story, *Continuation*, pp. 4-5; *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 318-322.

and the bells of the cathedral rang a joyful peal. For three days more the cannonade of the enemy continued, but the morning of the 1st of August brought deliverance to the beleaguered town, which awoke to a strange silence, for during the night the investing army had disappeared and by dawn was well on its way to Dublin.¹ It was not a day too soon. For one hundred and five days the struggle between Saxon and Celt had lasted. The garrison had been reduced by death and disease from about 7000 to 4000.² The death-roll of the besiegers was naturally a more extensive one, probably some 8000 of them perished before the maiden city.³ It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this struggle. With the raising of the siege James saw the fall of his prospects. It was no longer possible for him to go to Scotland or even to promise to send men to Dundee, and it was just as impossible to prolong the contest in England.⁴ One of Louis's aims was accomplished. The struggle was to be confined to Ireland. But the determined stand of Ulster made possible the landing of William, though in the dark days of uncertainty it had looked as if all the designs of Louis would be successful. Had Derry fallen before Rosen, Enniskillen must have surrendered. If these two towns belonged to James, no foothold was left for William. If from the walls of Château Gaillard has been seen the Magna Carta, one skilled to look below the surface may perceive from the walls of Derry the ultimate defeat of Louis.⁵ For, little as he realised it, the French

¹ Mackenzie; Walker; Buchan's letter in the Nairne MSS. (Bodleian Library); Ashe; *Macariae Excidium*, 318-322; Story, 4-5.

² Hamill's *Danger and Folly*, p. 11; *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 258.

³ Cf. *Life of the Duke of Berwick*, p. 38; *Berwick, Memoirs*, i. 340-345.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xi. 6. 178, 184.

⁵ Leslie Stephen's *Letters of J. R. Green*, p. 407. J. R. Green says (*Short History*, end of chap. ii.) "that John's failure to relieve Château Gaillard forced him into the policy which led to the Great Charter. The ruin at Château Gaillard represents the ruin of a system as well as a camp. From its dark donjon we see not merely the pleasant vale of Seine, but the sedge flats of our own Runnymede." Green wrote to E. A. Freeman: "As to the sight of Runnymede from Château Gaillard, indeed I can only say I did see it, and if you didn't it was because you went fast to sleep in that pleasant sunshine while I sate beside you 'moonning' about the Angevins. I mean this as I 'moonned' at Château Gaillard I saw for the first time (so far as I was concerned) what seemed to me the true bearing of the Angevin reigns on the fortunes of England and the birth of the Charter."

king received a fatal blow from the citizens of a petty town in the north of Ireland.¹ The soldiers of Acre stood between Napoleon and universal empire, and the men of Derry stood between Louis and ascendancy in Europe. Their conduct during the siege proved to the world that they were willing to sacrifice themselves to the uttermost for the cause they held dear.² Like their king, they felt there was one way never to be defeated, and that was to die in the last ditch.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 259 : "General Kirke has been to inspect Derry. He was surprised to find a place of so little strength had been able to resist an enemy for so long a time."

² In his delightful book, *The Competition Wallah*, Sir G. O. Trevelyan has in his account of the siege of Arrah a reference to this siege, "Still, as in Londonderry of old, the real strength of a besieged place consists not in the scientific construction of the defences, nor in the multitude of the garrison, nor in abundant stores of provisions and ordnance, but in the spirit which is prepared to dare all, and endure all, sooner than allow the assailants to set foot within the wall."

CHAPTER IV

THE PARLIAMENT AND THE WAR

WHILE these stirring events were happening in the north, James was holding his first Parliament in Dublin.¹

A preliminary question might be raised as to whether James had any right to summon a Parliament. Strictly speaking, by the statute law of Ireland the Irish crown was annexed to that of England. He who wore the crown of England *ipso facto* wore the crown of Ireland. On the 13th of February 1689 the crown of the former country had been offered to and accepted by William and Mary, and they were therefore the lawful king and queen of Ireland. Moreover, by Poynings' Law 1494, no Parliament could meet without a warrant under the Great Seal of England, certifying the laws which were proposed to be passed. These technical considerations were, however, set aside by the counsellors of James. The fallen king was now to be turned this way and that by his advisers, the Irish and English Jacobites. So far the policy of Tyrconnel had proved tolerably successful. His Roman Catholic countrymen had gained marked ascendancy. His negotiations with Louis showed that he was prepared to second all their aspirations to secure independence from English control, even if it meant dependence on France. His views and their own on the land question were substantially identical. Like them, too, he wished to undo the Act of Settlement.

On the 7th of May 1689 the Parliament met. Out

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 32, 296-298; *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-1691), 43-47. The former, 303-304, gives his reasons for holding it.

of a total of ninety Protestant peers, only five temporal and four spiritual obeyed the summons. Ten Roman Catholic peers attended and, by reversion of old retainers and new creations, seventeen more sat in the House. By the express wish of the king none of their prelates were summoned.¹ The remodelling of the corporations gave Tyrconnel an easy means of controlling the return of the members to the House of Commons. To make matters absolutely safe, with the writs he enclosed letters mentioning the names of suitable men. Two hundred and thirty-two members were returned, and of these only six were Protestants.² The freeholders in the towns were few and hence easily influenced. Five towns had but thirteen electors, in twenty-three they varied from fourteen to twenty-four, and in the remainder they lay normally between thirty and forty. One feature is noteworthy. Many members were returned for counties where their families had long lived. For example, O'Neills came from Antrim, Armagh, and Tyrone; Magennises from Down; Blakes, Bourkes, Dalys, Kirwans, and Martins from Connaught; MacCarthys, O'Briens and O'Donovans from Clare and Cork; Butlers, Fitzgeralds and Purcells from Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Kildare.³ There was but little resemblance between the assembly that met at Westminster and the one that now met in Dublin. The strength of the English House of Commons lay largely in the fact that its members were the men who governed the country. The administration of local affairs in their respective local districts was almost entirely managed by them. Familiar with the practical details of government, they were thus prepared for the delicate task of legislation. The Irish member of 1689 possessed no such training, for he had long ceased to play any part in the public life of his country. Officials from London ruled the land and they and he never met, save perhaps in a law court. In a

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 309.

² Cf. Bonn, ii. 151. He states that 34 towns with 68 members were not represented. King, iii. 12.; Davis, *Patriot Parliament of 1689*, 12-13, App.

³ For the members of Parliament at Dublin, cf. *Jacobite Narrative*, 241-245.

word, he possessed rights with little or nothing in the way of local obligations, and therefore did not feel any great desire to be concerned in the work of administration. It is more just to draw a parallel—if we must compare—between the Parliament of Dublin and the States-General of France, for both assemblies were devoid of administrative experience, and only at a crisis did either exercise much influence. Naturally the majority of the Irish members were country gentlemen. Some—like the brothers Luttrell—were officers who had served in France and Spain, and others—like Sir Richard Nagle—were lawyers. The officers and the lawyers might survey affairs from a tolerant standpoint, but the country gentlemen felt their wrongs too deeply to look at matters dispassionately. Many of them were sons of the proprietors who, to the number of three thousand, had by the Act of Settlement lost their estates. They could not help reflecting that their fathers had had no trial given them and no compensation awarded them, and that perhaps the time had at length arrived when they might look for restoration to their lands. Twenty-four years had elapsed since the Caroline adjustment, and thirty-seven since the Cromwellian plantation. They bore in mind the settlement of Munster under Elizabeth, the plantation of Ulster under James I., the changes in Connaught under Strafford, the Cromwellian plantation, and the Caroline settlement. Amidst all these vicissitudes it is intelligible that the then possessor of land had not that degree of security which we now associate with property—at least with property in England. The inevitable reference to the Act of Settlement occurred in the opening speech of James to the Parliament. The king was then under the influence of the English Jacobites, and therefore warned the members that he was against invading any man's territory.¹ "I shall most readily consent to the making of such good, wholesome laws as may be for the good of the nation, the improvement of trade, and relieving such as have been injured by the late

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 306-307; Clarke, 359-361.

Acts of Settlement, so far forth as may be consistent with reason, justice, and the public good." James meant these manly, sincere words.¹ He was aware of some of the cases of hardship that existed under the settlement of Charles II., and he desired to compensate those wronged, at least in part. The prosperity of his brother's reign was seen in the enhanced values of the estates, and he proposed to devote some of the increase to those despoiled. Moved by their injuries, nevertheless the members cheered when on the 13th of May Chief Justice Nugent read a Bill proposing the repeal of the Caroline settlement. The king, surveying the proposals with English eyes, saw the unwisdom of this legislation and opposed it. His threat to dissolve the Parliament proved vain. The Irish Jacobites and the French were determined to pass the measure, and James at last yielded. "Alas!" said the unfortunate king, "I am fallen into the hands of people who will ram that and much more down my throat."² Maxwell, a Roman Catholic general, explained the reason why his master gave his consent: "If you did but know the circumstances the King is under, and the hardships these men put upon him, you would bemoan him with tears instead of blaming him. What would you have him do? All his other subjects have deserted him; this is the only body of men he has now to appear for him; he is in their hands and must please them."³ James felt he did not even discharge the humble function which Hegel assigns to royalty, of saying yes and dotting i's for the people.⁴

The preamble to the statute repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation sets forth that the Rebellion of 1641 was due to the tyrannical oppression of the Lords Justices, and "the Puritan Secretaries in the realm of Great Britain," by whose "pernicious acts in way-laying, exchanging, and wickedly depriving all intercourse by letters, expresses and other communication and privity betwixt your said royal father and his much abused people"

¹ Cf. Clarke, ii. 356-359.

² Leslie; Clarke, ii. 358; Avaux, ^{May 26}_{June 5}, 1689.

³ Leslie, p. 100.

⁴ *Rechtsphil.* § 280.

had been cut off. The first clause of this Act declared that the Roman Catholics, at risk to their lives and estates, defended Ireland until overpowered by Cromwell, and that they "upon the account of the peace made by his late Majesty in the year 1648, but also for their eminent loyalty and firm adherence to the royal cause, might have justly expected to partake of his late Majesty's favour and bounty upon his happy restoration." The second clause enacted that the heirs of "all manner of persons who were any way entituled to any lands, tenancies, or hereditaments, or whose ancestors were any way seized, possessed of, or entituled to any lands, tenancies, or hereditaments, in use, possession, reversion, or remainder in this Kingdom of Ireland on the 22nd of October 1641," should be restored to their interests. This implied their release from all re-tainers and outlawries for treason or any other offence.¹ It also implied that the adventurers or soldiers of Cromwell, and all persons who had obtained land from them through "blood, affinity, or marriage," were to lose their lands, buildings, and improvements without compensation. Twenty-four years before, the Jacobites had received no equivalent, and they meted out the same treatment to the Cromwellians. All real property "which on the first day of August, 1688, or at any time since belonged or appertained to any person or persons whatsoever, or who on the said first day of August, 1688, or at any time since was in rebellion or arms against your most sacred Majesty, either in this kingdom or in the Kingdom of England or Scotland, or who corresponded or kept intelligence with or went contrary to their allegiance to dwell or stay among the said rebels, or any of them, or who was or were any way aiding, abetting, or assisting to them or any of them, be and are hereby forfeited unto and vested in your Majesty." Much depended on what these loosely framed words in Clause 10 might mean. They might

¹ Klopp, v. 45: "It was a decisive step on the road to separate Ireland from England. For that reason the Irish wished it, and with them the French envoy d'Avaux. . . . Avaux had previously complained to Versailles that James did not seize all the means which he could attain to by confiscating estates. James had replied that he could not undertake such confiscations except according to the law of the land, either by a judicial decree or act of parliament."

indicate that only the lands of those who had actively assisted the Prince of Orange were liable to forfeiture. The Act of Attainder pointed to this meaning, for it confiscated conditionally the property of absentees unless they returned before the 1st of November. On the other hand, one of its proposers, Nugent, decided that paying a bill of exchange or receiving letters from clients asking for a reprieve of sentence might be interpreted as holding a correspondence with enemies of the king.¹ It was noted that for the last nine months the Government had been intercepting letters, and men deemed they now saw the reason thereof. A dilemma, akin to Morton's fork, was presented. If a settler had obtained his land since 1641, he lost it by Clause 2 of the Act of Repeal; if he had obtained it before 1641, he might lose it under Clause 10 by writing a letter, even to his attorney.² But many of the estates had been purchased by the present proprietors, who had expended money in improving and reclaiming the soil.³ Evidently they stood in a different category from men whose titles rested mainly on their broadswords. They were accordingly granted compensation by Clause 10, which further decreed "every reprimable person or persons, his heirs, executors and administrators, who shall be removed from any of the lands, tenancies, and hereditaments, which are hereby to be restored to the ancient proprietor thereof . . . shall be reprized and have other lands, tenancies, and hereditaments of equal value, worth and purchase, set out and granted unto him out of the said forfeited lands hereby vested in your Majesty, for such estate or estates as the lands from which he or they shall be so removed were held by him at the passing of this Act." The reparation was then to come from the property of those who favoured the Williamite cause. The English Government had, from 1601 onwards, confiscated possessions of those who conspired against them, and the Irish were not slow to follow their example. If Peter had been robbed to pay Paul, now Paul was to be robbed to pay Peter. Their fathers had besought Strafford not to

¹ Cf. Bonn, ii. 152.

² *Jacobite Narrative*, 59.

³ Clarke, ii. 258.

inquire into titles of more than sixty years' standing, and by Clause 24 they now limited their inquiry to forty-eight years. Clause 28 provided that the widows and relicts of deceased proprietors should recover as much dower as the common law allowed them. The fortieth clause vested property of "the Society, Governors and Assistants of Londonderry" in the king "to be part of the stock of reprisals hereinbefore mentioned, saving always the right, title, estate and interest of the Corporation of the Mayor, Commons and Citizens of Londonderry and Coleraine." The liberality of this clause can be judged from the fact that the citizens of the former town were at the very moment of its passing engaged in fighting James's forces. The last clause provided that deserving men who might lose considerable estates, and gained little compensation from the Court of Claims, should receive suitable reprisals. To the credit of James it should be stated that he assigned £10,000 a year out of his own estate for such evicted tenants.¹ "He would not," to use his own words, "do evil that good might come." The repeal of the Act of Settlement cannot be defended, for it dealt a grave blow at the security of property. No doubt many such blows had been dealt in the past by the English Government, but the present legislators were going to add to the list of injustices committed. It is easy to understand the sentiments of the Irish members, easy to see the sense of unfairness that rankled in their minds, for they had been brooding for many years over their wrongs. Yet some of the wiser proprietors ought to have seen that such legislation must provoke an inevitable reaction. The coming of William might be slow, but it was certain. When he came the planters would pour the story of their hardships into his ears, and the last state of the proprietors would be worse than the first. With their embittered feelings they, however, cast prudence and wisdom to the winds.

Unwise as was the repeal of the Act of Settlement, the

¹ For an account of his estate cf. the *Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 1881, Part I. p. 497.

Act of Attainder was infinitely worse. At the end of June lists were drawn up of about two thousand persons who were to be attainted of high-treason. The longest list named those who had "notoriously joyned in the said rebellion and invasion in Ireland." These were to stand their trial before the tenth of August. In the second class stood those who had left the kingdom after the 5th of November 1688, and they were accounted guilty if they did not return before the 1st of September 1689. In the last class were enumerated those who had left Ireland before the 5th of November 1688, and were then living in England, Scotland, or the Isle of Man. These were to return before October 1689, unless James went to England or Scotland before that date; in which case the absentees were to signify to him their loyalty there.¹ The notorious rebels lived in Ireland, and they had seven weeks' grace assigned to them. The second had ten weeks, a short interval when the time taken to travel to Ireland from England in those days is considered. Moreover, it was hard for those concerned to hear of the measure, as a strict embargo had been laid on all vessels in Irish ports, so that none could sail to England before the 1st of November. The *London Gazette* of the 1st of July 1689 announced the passing of this Act of Attainder, though it did not publish the specific names. Meanwhile the real property of all these men was vested in the king till their return, acquittal, pardon, or discharge. James's sense of justice was outraged, and to him the existence of Section 8 is probably due.² It notes that some may be absent because of sickness, nonage, and infirmity, and imposes no sanction upon them, yet "it being much to the weakening and impoverishment of this realm that any of the rents or profits of the lands, tenancies or hereditaments thereof should be sent into or spent in any other place beyond the seas, but that the same should be kept and employed within the realm for the better support and defence thereof," it vests their property in the king until the absentees should return and petition for the restoration of their estates.

¹ King, 232-236; Davis, 125-134.

² Klopp, v. 48; Clarke, ii. 370.

The Act removed the power of pardon from the king unless this exercise of his prerogative was enrolled in Court of Chancery before the last day of November.

It is natural to ask on what principle the selection of the names of the attainted men appeared in these lists. It seems that each member gave a list of his neighbours whom he believed to be disloyal. The story runs that when the speaker, Nagle, brought the Bill to the king, he said, "Many were attainted in that act upon such evidence as satisfied the house and the rest of them upon common fame."¹ The worth of the latter may be perceived in the case of Strafford. Some of his friends spoke in his behalf. The member for Dublin, Simon Luttrell, remarked, "I have heard the King say some hard things of that lord."² This was enough; Strafford's name was added to the number of the proscribed. The extreme haste with which the names were enumerated is evident in every line of the measure. "Perhaps no man ever heard of such a crude, imperfect thing, so ill-digested and composed, passing in the world for a law. We find the same person brought in under different qualifications. In one place he is expressly allowed till the 1st of October to come in and submit to trial, and yet in another place he is attainted if he do not come in by the 1st of September. Many are attainted by wrong names. Many have their Christian names left out, and many whose names and surnames are both put in are not distinguished by any character whereby they may be known from others of the same name."³ The haste of the legislators probably accounts for the omission of the Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and the insertion of some of the king's friends. Edward Keating, nephew of the Chief Justice, was serving before the walls of Derry, yet he was proscribed. The learned Dodwell assailed the principles of the Revolution, but his name was inserted.⁴ Mountjoy was on diplomatic service in France, and he too fell under the ban.⁵ It

¹ King, iii. 13.

² *Ibid.* iii. 12.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Of Dodwell William remarked: "He has set his heart on being a martyr; and I have set mine on disappointing him."

⁵ *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91), 43.

must be borne in mind that all these men were liable to the severe penalties of those days for high-treason ; the gallows and the quartering block lay before them all.

The complement of the repeal of the Act of Settlement was the Act of Attainder. By these two measures the native proprietors trusted to regain their ancestral domains. One Act removed the land and the other removed the landlord. The motives of these two Acts are not religious—on the list there appeared the names of Roman Catholics—but political and economic. There was a great hunger for land and little scruple as to the means of satisfying it. The struggle between the Irish Jacobites and the English at length reached an acute stage. The fight in Dublin, like the siege of Derry, virtually became one between different races. To James this was no new discovery. For on the 14th of March 1686 Clarendon had written to him in these terms : “ When I had the honour to discourse with your Majesty upon the affairs of this country, you were pleased to say that you looked upon the differences here to be rather between English and Irish than between Catholic and Protestant ; which, certainly, Sir, is a most true notion.” What was true in 1686 was infinitely more true in 1689. The differences between the two types of Jacobite became so acute that the Irish actually proposed to exclude from their party all Roman Catholics of English descent.

Irish tyranny resembled English in this, that it did not propose to supersede the action of the ordinary law courts. All the men were to be tried by the judges of the land. But when the accused remembered how skilfully Tyrconnel had remodelled the courts, they were not a whit the more eager to plead before them. No executions took place under the Act ; but is this not due to the fact that the citizens of Derry crossed the t’s and dotted the i’s of the measure in a manner not at all congenial to its framers ? The Irish legislators profited by the lessons learnt from their English teachers. Political troubles in Ireland, notably from the days of the first Stuart, had invariably been followed by a plantation ; and there was

every reason why the present occasion should not form an exception to the rule. This settlement had at least the merit of giving the soil to men who possessed titles to it. They saw a precedent in 1641 for their resolve not to allow the king the power of pardon. That year the English Parliament asked Charles I. not to alienate, by pardoning Irish rebels, any of the forfeited land falling to the Crown; and a later Act made all pardons before attainder, without the assent of Parliament, null and void. They perceived a precedent in 1665 for their plan of making residence in England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man a proof of treason. For a clause in the Act of Settlement declared that a Roman Catholic living unmolested on land occupied by rebels could not be reckoned an innocent papist. In the last resort the doctrines of Bismarck might have been employed in defence of the Act of Attainder. The king must have means for carrying on the life-and-death struggle, and if the resources were easy to seize he was justified in using them. The Irish certainly saw two precedents for their Act of Attainder, and a question now arises, Did they see a third? ¹

On the 20th of June in the English House of Commons we read the following: "Resolved that leave be given to bring in a Bill to attain of high-treason certain persons who are now in Ireland or any other parts beyond the seas, adhering to their Majesties' enemies, and shall not return into England by a certain day." The Bill reached a second reading, and on the 22nd of June the committee received instructions "That they insert into Bill such other of the persons as were this day named in the House, as they shall find cause." On the 24th and 29th clauses were added ordering the immediate seizure of the estates of these people for the benefit of Irish Protestants who fled to England. Unlike the Irish House, the English House of Lords desired to know the grounds upon which the names were inserted, instancing the case of Lord Hunsden. There were eighteen names in the English Act and over two thousand in the Irish

¹ Davis, 143; Lecky, i. 132-134.

Act. It was evident that the English peers did not deem common fame, even in the case of merely eighteen men, sufficient grounds. On the 3rd of August Mr. Sergeant Trench informs the House that, "The names of those who gave evidence at the bar of the House touching the persons who are named in the Bill of Attainder, being in Ireland, were Bazill Purefoy and William Dalton ; and those at the committee to whom the Bill was referred were William Watts and Matthew Gun." The House of Lords amended the Bill, omitting the names of Lord Hunsden and four or five more, and inserting a few others. The policy of the peers, and, above all, that of William, defeated such measures, and no vast Act of Attainder ever appeared on the English Statute Book. Even if such a measure had passed, it would have proved the injustice of the English Act, not the justice of the Irish one. James in this matter showed some of the statesmanship of his rival, for he disapproved of both the measures passed by his House. The Irish faction placed less and less confidence in a monarch who was not whole-hearted in his approval of their plans. Leslie, anxious to point out the distinction between the policy of the king and that of his followers, records the following : "But, above all, some of them moved to him for leave to cut off the Protestants, which he returned with indignation and amazement, saying, 'What, gentlemen, are you for another '41?' which so galled them that they ever after looked upon him with a jealous eye, and thought him, though a Roman Catholic, too much an Englishman to carry on their business."¹

The men of Derry and Enniskillen were rebels at the close of 1688. The inhabitants of the latter attacked the soldiers of the king in the first week in December, and on the 7th of December the apprentice boys of the former shut the gates of Derry. But the 13th of February 1689 changed matters, for on that date William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen. The Derry men and the Enniskilleners had risen in defence of their hearths

¹ Leslie, *Answer to King*, p. 125 ; *Macariae Excidium*, sec. 18.

and homes, and a wise Parliament might have conciliated them. The Irish legislators taught them that they could not afford to be neutral, thus driving them to continue their resistance, when a lenient rule might have induced them to lay down their arms. These are not the conclusions of a student in his closet; they were seen at the time by thoughtful men of affairs. Stevens records in his *Journal*: "To satisfy the humour of the people, a Parliament was called which granted the King a subsidy that never turned to any account. Nothing could be more pernicious, or a greater obstruction to the King's service, than this Parliament. 1°. It drew and kept in Dublin the nobility and principal gentry who might have raised men at their homes. 2°. When the Act of Repeal passed every one quitted his command to enter upon his estate. 3°. The Protestants therefore were necessitated to rebel when they might have stood neutral. The results were that the Army was much damaged and weakened; the King lost the assistance of many of his friends and gained a vast number of irreconcilable enemies."¹ It is a relief to turn from measures like the Acts of Repeal and of Attainder to the other measures of this Parliament. An Act was passed declaring that the Parliament of England could not bind Ireland, and that no writs of error and no appeals lay from the King's Bench in Ireland to that in England.² This measure endeavoured to make the Irish Parliament and the Irish courts completely independent of the English. It laid down that Ireland is a distinct

¹ Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Light to the Blind*, 471-472: "To render the Irish Catholics effectually potent . . . it will be requisite in the King to restore unto them their ancient estates . . . to make the Parliament of Ireland absolut in enacting lawes, without being obliged to send beforehand the prepared bills . . . to make the judicature of the nation determine causes without an appeal to the tribunals of England: to give full liberty to merchants to export the product and manufacture of the kingdom; and to import forraign goods without an obligation of touching at any harbour in England . . . to put allwayes the Viceroydom into the hands of an Irish Catholick . . . to confer the principal posts of state and warr on the Catholick natives; to keep standing an army of 8000 Catholicks; to train a Catholick militia . . . to give the moyety of ecclesiastical livings to the Catholick bishops and parish priests during the life of the present Protestant Bishops and ministers; and after the death of these, to confer all the said livings on the Roman clergy; to make the great rivers of the kingdom navigable . . . to render the chief ports more deep, and thorough tenable against any attacks from sea: in fine, to drain the multiplicity of bogges; which being effected will support a vast addition of families."

kingdom from England, always governed by its own ancient customs, laws, and statutes, save in times of distractions. "Some have pretended that Acts of Parliament passed in England mentioning Ireland were binding in Ireland; and as these late opinions are against justice and natural equity, and so they tend to the great oppression of the people here, and to the overthrow of the fundamental constitutions of this realm." Poynings' law made the Irish House subordinate to the English, and this subordination was now removed and absolute independence asserted. For a brief space of time the House of 1689 occupied the position of its descendant of 1782. The Court of King's Bench in Ireland was to be a final Court of Appeal, but in case it gave an erroneous judgment the Justices of the Common Pleas and the Barons of the Exchequer might examine the matter further.

In true English fashion they considered the redress of their grievances before they proceeded to the question of supply. The army at this time cost much more than the revenue of the king. James was accordingly granted £20,000 a month, to be raised by a land tax. This sum was equitably imposed on the different counties and towns. The rate was to be paid by the occupier of the land, but where the land was let at its value he was to be allowed the whole of the rate out of his rent. The taxes on the counties of Fermanagh and Londonderry were levied at the same rate as if they were loyal. The supply granted proved inadequate to meet the growing needs of the army, and on the 10th of April James issued a commission for another £20,000 a month. Tyrconnel, when writing to the queen, tells her that in the spring of 1689 James's expenses were not £40,000 a month, but two and a half times that sum. To meet the growing expenditure James followed French precedent and issued a fresh coinage to the nominal value of one million and a half, and it was declared to be legal tender.¹ The real purchasing power of these coins and the nominal

¹ King, iii. 11; *Jacobite Narrative*, 54. ~ *Macariae Excidium*, 339-407. See the Declaration of James II.; *C.S.P., Dom.*, May 8, 1689, pp. 95-96.

purchasing power differed very widely indeed. Measures were also passed providing for the relief and release of poor distressed prisoners for debt, and for the speedy recovery of servants' wages, encouraging strangers to inhabit and plant in Ireland, removing incapacities of the native Irish, prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh coals, regulating the duties on foreign commodities, and granting bounties for building ships and establishing schools of navigation in seaport towns. Two other Bills asked the Protestants to pay tithes to their Church, and the Roman Catholics to pay to theirs.¹ The practical effects of these Acts were that the endowments of the Irish Church and the provisions for the maintenance of her clergy were removed. James did his best to protect the interests of the clergy, but his efforts were unavailing. To his care was due the placing on the Statute Book of an Act establishing religious liberty in Ireland; this was a creditable attempt, far in advance of the policy of the age, to give liberty of conscience to all.² The Acts of this Parliament were of very unequal value indeed. The wisdom of the measure of religious toleration is joined with the folly of the Act of Attainder. From the height of the one to the depth of the other is a descent that it seems impossible that the same body could make in the session of seventy-two days. The inkhorn of the Irish proved as cruel as the sword of the English. The equality of creeds contrasts sadly with the inequality of treatment meted out to the settler. The members might proclaim the independence of Parliament and law court, but if such independence meant dependence on France and its schemes it was bought at a dear price. To throw off the yoke of England and to put on the yoke of France meant no more than a change of masters. The intolerant spirit that marked the Irish Parliaments of Charles II. characterised that of James II. Justice and fair play were as little to be expected from the one as from the other. Protection of

¹ *Jacobite Narrative*, 69.

² Cf. Bonn, ii. 152. He makes the comment that this liberty was one "which the allies of Louis XIV. certainly found difficult to put into practice."

trade was formerly in the interests of England, now it was in those of France. "New presbyter," maintained Milton, "is but old priest writ large," and new Parliament Irish but reflects the spirit of old Parliament English.

James prorogued his Irish Parliament on the 20th of July 1689. On the 1st of August the siege of Derry was raised. When Chief Justice Marshall gave his famous judgment, the President of the United States merely remarked, "The judge has given his decision, let him now enforce it." The members of Parliament were in the same plight as Marshall. They had passed their measures, but their sanction depended upon the number of skenes and swords, pikes and muskets, they could bring into the field to enforce them. Their Bills were no more than waste paper and ink till the sand of the battlefield dried the writing. The time spent in legislation could, from their own point of view, have been more usefully employed in the field.¹ Angry debates widened the breach between the Irish Jacobite and the English, and showed the enemy the hollowness of the alliance. It was hard to expect the newly restored proprietor to throw all his energies into the fight when he was longing to take possession of his family domain. Yet the news from the scene of conflict was highly urgent. The fair prospects that marked the opening of the session were clouded by its gloomy close.² The French fleet, under the Count of Chateau Renard, in spite of the opposition of Herbert, landed stores and a welcome supply of money at Bantry Bay. Herbert arrived with an inferior English force, and was compelled to withdraw to the

¹ On the Jacobite army in Ireland, 1689, cf. *Jacobite Narrative*, 201-241.

² *Light to the Blind*, 624: "All their losses hitherto since the beginning of the warr, are to be attributed to mismanagement, which if for the future they can rectify, I do not doubt but they will carry the day, supposing all other requisitts be supplied, of which immediately. For their not taking of Derry proceeded from the want of battering-pieces: of which if the army had a dozen, they might have well made themselves masters of that town in 12 days after trenches opened. The loss of Croom-castle fight was caused by mistaking the word, that the commanding officer of the Irish gave; by which the strength of the Lord Mountcashel's army was drawn from the field. The looseing of the battle of Cavan was occasioned by ordering the Irish to attack the ennemeyes within ditches and hedges. The faylure at the Boyn sprung from several defects of military management, as 'tis easily known out of what we have said allready. And so of the rest."

Scilly Islands for reinforcements. In the meantime, the French commander, though entreated by James to sail to Dublin, returned to Brest. Neither side had much to boast of, yet both celebrated the fight by singing *Te Deums* in its honour.¹ There might be grave doubt as to the propriety of either one side or the other lighting bonfires for the affair of Bantry Bay, but there could be no question that the position of affairs in Ulster entitled the supporters of William to rejoice. The raising of the siege of Derry and the triumphal issue of Enniskillen from its assault were unmistakable victories. The natives of the latter town had made a gallant though unsuccessful attempt in June to relieve the former.² On their arrival home they heard from Colonel Crichton of Crom and Captain Wishart that the enemy under Brigadier Sutherland was advancing upon Belturbet. On the news that Colonel Lloyd was coming to meet him, Sutherland retired in the direction of Monaghan, leaving Colonel Scott to hold the church. Lloyd's vigorous fire on the 19th of June so galled the garrison that they surrendered on condition that the prisoners should have their lives, and that officers should keep their clothes and money. During the last six weeks of the siege of Derry, the Duke of Berwick was placed in charge of a flying division in order to check the raids of the men of Enniskillen, and on the 13th of July, in a skirmish with them, fifty of his men were killed and twenty taken prisoners.³ The Enniskilleners sent a deputation to Kirke, who gave

¹ Clarke, ii. 370; Avaux, May $\frac{8}{18}$, $\frac{\text{May } 26}{\text{June } 5}$, 1689.

² Hamilton, pp 23-25; MacCarmick, pp. 45-47.

³ On Berwick, cf. Burnet, iii. p. 1280. Avaux wrote about him to Louvois,

Oct. $\frac{25}{15}$, 1689: "Un aussy mechant officier . . . et qu'il n'a pas le sens commun." *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-1690, Dr. John Wallis to the Earl of Nottingham, 217-219: "I am assured that Lord Tyrconnel's discontent, as much as his indisposition, has contributed to his retirement to a country house, and that he has even himself explained that he does not wish any more to mix himself in another 'affaire.' It is alleged that the Duke (of Berwick) is always too much disposed to effect savings, even to the prejudice of the service while Tyrconnel has ever been diffident in suggesting even indispensable requirements, finding in his Majesty a resistance almost insurmountable to spending his money on things absolutely necessary. It is also alleged here that this opinion originated with Lord Melfort, who desired to see things thus."

them six hundred firelocks for dragoons, a thousand muskets for footmen, twenty additional barrels of powder, and eight small cannon.¹ Besides, he sent seven of his best officers under Colonel Wolseley, whom he appointed their commander. By a curious coincidence, the day that saw them welcomed in Enniskillen witnessed the relief of Derry: it was indeed a memorable Sunday for both towns.

The activity of Enniskillen on behalf of William was noted in Dublin and it was resolved to make a united effort to crush it. The townsmen, acting in the spirit of their Governor, made up their minds not to wait to be attacked. When Macarthy, who had been created Viscount Mountcashel for his services in Munster, undertook to invest the castle of Crom, Colonel Wolseley ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Berry to raise the siege.² The latter, on the 31st of July, encountered his adversaries near Lisnaskea, but seeing their strength he retreated and effected a conjunction with Colonel Wolseley's forces.³ The brilliant Anthony Hamilton—as daring a soldier as he was a clever writer—attacked them and was repulsed. Macarthy joined him, and the united Jacobite forces amounted to some six thousand men.⁴ Wolseley had no more than two thousand men under his command. As he advanced his opponents retreated through the village of Newtown-Butler and halted a mile beyond it. Macarthy drew up his men on a hill with a bog covering their front. When the foot had silenced the cannon commanding the path across the bog, the Enniskillen horse rode swiftly to meet the enemy on the right. Macarthy therefore ordered the regiment on the left to move to the right. In the confusion of the fight the officer commanded the men not to face to the right, but to face right about and march.⁵ Remembering how a

¹ Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, i. f. 10 (T.C.D.).

² Avaux spoke very highly of the work done by Macarthy. Letter to Louvois, Dec. 6, 1689.

³ *Macariae Excidium*, 314.

⁴ Avaux to Louvois, Aug. $\frac{14}{4}$, 1689.

⁵ Story, *Impartial History*, p. 5: *History of the Most Material Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland during the Last Two Years: By an Eye-Witness* (London, 1691); *Light to the Blind*, 624; *Macariae Excidium*, 315.

hasty "Retire" almost brought about a panic among soldiers on the Alma, it is easy to imagine the ensuing confusion. When the troops saw their comrades facing them, they concluded they were retreating. The panic-stricken Irish dragoons fled in the direction of Wattlebridge and the cavalry soon followed them.¹ The foot remained firm for a time, but they too finally gave way. With the recollection of the treacherous conduct of Galmoy fresh in their minds, the Enniskilleners gave little quarter. Of the six thousand soldiers that marched in the morning two thousand had been killed, five hundred drowned in Lough Erne, and four hundred captured, including Macarthy, the commander. Seven guns, fourteen barrels of powder, and all the flags and drums had also been taken.² Almost the whole of Ulster remained now in the hands of the Williamites. The brilliant Sarsfield at once retired from Bundoran to Sligo. When the news reached Dublin, James was so much surprised that, acting on Melfort's advice, he thought of withdrawing to France. Tyrconnel, however, induced him to stay. The battle of Newtown-Butler was the greatest triumph won so far by the Williamites in the field.³ Two thousand amateur soldiers had beaten six thousand professionals. "It is curious," writes Macaulay, "that the two most remarkable battles that perhaps were ever gained by irregular over regular troops should have been fought in the same week: the battle of Killiecrankie, and the battle of Newtown-Butler. In both battles the success of the irregular troops was singularly rapid and complete. In both battles the panic of the regular troops, in spite of the conspicuous example of courage set by their generals, was singularly disgraceful. It ought also to be noted that, of these extraordinary

¹ *Macariae Excidium*: "Shamefully ran away without striking a blow," 310-316.

² Avaux to Louis, Aug. $\frac{14}{4}$, 1689.

³ Hamilton; MacCarmick; *London Gazette*, Aug. 22, 1689; Clarke, ii. 368-369; Avaux to Louis, Aug. $\frac{4}{14}$; Avaux to Louvois, Aug. $\frac{4}{14}$; Macpherson, i. 219; Wolseley's Despatch, Enniskillen, Aug. 4, 1689. The Inniskilling Dragoons originate at this time, but many of them came from Donegal. See the letter from Sir A. Cunningham to Sir H. Bellasyse, Aug. 29, 1692, Castlebar: "My regt., which was raised in the Co. Donegal about 20 miles from Sligo" (Clarke MSS., T.C.D.). Klopp, v. 50.

victories one was gained by Celts over Saxons, and the other by Saxons over Celts."

The men who fled from the rule of Tyrconnel and the Irish factions received a hearty welcome on their arrival in England. Kinsmen, sympathisers, and strangers did all in their power to alleviate their sufferings. The House of Commons gave William fifteen thousand pounds to relieve their present needs, and efforts were made to secure them permanent employment. Those fit for warfare were to be allowed to serve in the army and commissions were given to those qualified. Beneficed clergymen had an Act specially passed on their behalf, enabling them to hold livings in England.¹ Deeply as the mass of the people felt for their unfortunate guests, their concern for the heroic defenders of Derry and Enniskillen was of an even warmer character. Birch spoke for many when he exclaimed: "This is no time to be counting cost. Are those brave fellows in Londonderry to be deserted? If we lose them, will not all the world cry shame upon us? A boom across the river! Why have we not cut the boom in pieces? Are our brethren to perish almost in sight of England within a few hours' voyage of our shores?"² The House of Commons in its zeal appointed a committee to consider the course and conduct of the war in Ireland. As a result Lundy was sent to the Tower and Cunningham to the Gate House. This action punished the offenders of the past, and to encourage the defenders of the present, Kirke was ordered to take charge of an expedition from Liverpool. His intolerable delay for so many weeks aroused as much resentment in England as it caused despair in Ireland. A poor general, a hated officer, and a loose disciplinarian, he proved a strange forerunner for Schomberg. For the relief sent to Derry was intended as an earnest of the mighty effort Parliament was going to make on behalf of Ireland. Before the end of summer an army strong enough to restore supremacy was to cross St. George's Channel.

¹ 1 Will. and Mary, c. 29.

² Grey's Debates, June 19, 1689; June 22, 1689. *C.S.P., Dom.*, Mar. 14, 1689, pp. 23-24.

There were indeed cogent reasons for delaying the sailing of the expedition under Schomberg for some time.¹ Many officers still were Jacobites at heart, and time was required in order to ensure that zealous Williamites only should hold commissions. Louvois, by his marvellous skill in distributing, equipping, and provisioning armies, had carried French military administration to a high degree of perfection. But England, to her infinite loss, boasted no Louvois. Her sovereign possessed some gifts as a general, but he did not understand the importance of the commissariat in warfare.² Napoleon and Wellington shone as conspicuously in the office as they did in the battlefield. But the Ireland of 1689 possessed neither a ruler like Napoleon nor a general like Wellington, and the results of this grave want are visible on all sides. The army owned no organisation, no field-administration, no transport train, and no more than the rudiments of a commissariat.³ The little train of baggage betrayed the scanty stores of provisions. The transport arrangements were inadequate and the Government contractors corrupt. Badly cast cannon, badly charged bombs, were stored in the arsenals at Portsmouth and London, while the artillery train lacked horses and harness; the artillery officers were ignorant, lazy, and cowardly. From want of horses soldiers were frequently yoked in their place, and when the wheels remained stuck fast the guns had to be carried long distances on the men's shoulders. The stands of ill-constructed arms in the Tower were so few that William was compelled to send to his own land for supplies.⁴ If the army was ill-equipped, the men did not make up for

¹ On Schomberg the material lies in his letters in the Dalrymple *Memoirs*; the "Actenstücke" in Kazner's *Life*, vol. ii., especially the diary of the campaign; the *Clarke Correspondence*; William's letters to him, and Solmes' letters to Hoffmann in the K.K. Archives. Lord Acton's copy of Kazner was used: it had two of his book-marks and some of his pencillings. Naturally, the marked passages were read with extreme care. On supplies, see *C.S.P., Dom.*, Mar. 23, 1689, pp. 37-38, 193-194, 195, 201, 207, 208-209, 215, 219-220, 222, 226, 240, 254. See also the *Clarke Correspondence* (T.C.D.), vol. i. 2, 3, 4, 6.

² Kazner, ii. 285-286.

³ Schomberg's Despatches, 1689; *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, May 10, 1689, p. 97, 261-262.

⁴ Schomberg's Despatch, Mar. 3, 1690; Story; Royal Warrant, Dec. 2, 1691; *History of the Most Material Occurrences*: "I was in the armouries at the Tower where the arms were to be delivered out to the new levies . . . there were not half enough, and that more had to be got from Holland."

the deficiency.¹ For they were raw recruits without uniform, and in some cases without arms. All the experienced soldiers, save the fine brigade of Dutch troops, under the capable Count of Solmes, had been despatched to Flanders. There was a lack of general officers, and those they had were of such poor quality that none was fit for the post of brigadier.² The veteran Marquis of Ruvigny, a faithful comrade of Schomberg, raised four regiments, one of cavalry and three of infantry, among the French refugees. His two sons offered their services to William, and the younger, Caillemotte, became colonel of one of the Huguenot regiments of foot, while La Melonière and Cambon commanded the other two. The colonel of the regiment of horse was Schomberg himself.

Frederick Herman, Duke of Schomberg, was from many points of view the general the raw recruits required. Condé and Turenne had been his tutors in the art of war, and well had he profited by their teaching. He served Louis faithfully till the latter began his persecuting policy against his brother Huguenots. At the age of seventy he laid down the baton of a marshal of France for the sake of conscience, and began his career anew.³ Much as the foreign friends of William were disliked by the English, Schomberg formed a marked exception. Of wide reading and extensive experience, the old man was a remarkably agreeable companion. His military lore acquired in the course of his duty with armies on the Meuse, on the Ebro, and on the Tagus, was now to be used in order to train and develop into active and useful soldiers the recruits just placed under his command. On the 13th of August the ablest of the Williamite generals disembarked

¹ Klopp, v. 50: "The most useful among them were the Dutch and French soldiers already practised in war. The artillery showed itself least capable. Schomberg characterised the officers of it as ignorant, lazy, and timid." *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, June 1, June 28, Sept. 18, Sept. 23 (for the men). On the officers, see Schomberg to William, Aug. 27, 1689. *Cal. S.P., Dom.*; Kazner, ii. 284. The British were almost without cavalry (Klopp, v. 53).

² Kazner, ii. 338. "If the Irish colonels," Schomberg says, "were as capable and as eager for war as they are for sending foraging parties to plunder the country . . . our affairs would stand better. The incapacity of the officers is indeed great, but their carelessness and laziness are still greater." Cf. *Cal. S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 288.

³ Kazner, ii. 340, 374; cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, April 15, 1689, p. 65.

his twenty thousand men at Bangor in County Down. He had arrived "avec le plus beau tems et le meilleur vent qu'on eût pu souhaiter."¹ The conflict was no longer local, but became outwardly the great international struggle it had long been inwardly.

For the newly-landed General prospects seemed fairly favourable. With Derry relieved, Enniskillen victorious, Mountcashel's army destroyed, and Ballyshannon still holding out, it seemed as if the whole north-west of Ireland remained in the hands of his allies, while in the north-east the Jacobites held merely Carrickfergus, Newry, and Charlemont. Brigadier Maxwell at once withdrew before Schomberg, and when he vanished the people crowded to greet the army come to deliver them.² They brought some supplies as a visible proof of their gratitude, and these were most acceptable to men so poorly provisioned. The 12th Foot was sent on to reconnoitre, and on the 17th the whole force marched to Belfast, then but a small village nestling under the castle of the Chichesters. On the news of this advance Maxwell departed from Belfast *en route* for Newry, leaving two regiments under M'Carthy More to hold the castle of Carrickfergus.³ "At every step," said Solmes, "they might have stopped us. It was not done." The Duke of Berwick with sixteen hundred men lay beyond Newry, his duty being to

¹ Kazner, ii. 290.

² *Great News from the Army under the Command of Duke Schomberg*, Letter, Liverpool, Aug. 20, 1689, *C.S.P., Dom.*, Aug. 26, 1689, pp. 231-232. On the dismay felt by James and his circle on the landing of Schomberg, see Klopp, v. 51: "There was no means," it was said, "of resisting such a powerful army. All was lost. In a few days Schomberg would enter Dublin." Cf. Clarke, ii. 372. Avaux advised the King to

command a universal annihilation of the Protestants, *July 31*, 1689. It "must *Aug. 10* irrevocably have cut off a return to England for James and his descendants." Avaux "wished and intended by this proposal to separate for ever England and Ireland, to place the dynasties and the nations in a hostile position to each other, to their mutual destruction in the interests of French policy. And so the thought from which in the interests of French policy the sending of poor King James to Ireland had emanated, the object of crippling England by Ireland, was developed by this envoy, Avaux, to its extreme and merciless consequences" (Klopp, v. 51). It is singular that James does not mention this proposal in his autobiography.

³ Klopp, v. 50; Kazner, i. 303; cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, Mar. 22, 1689, pp. 35-36, 251-252. Contrast Berwick, *Memoirs*, i. 41: "We were indebted to general Schomberg that he stayed 8 days in Carrickfergus when by quickly using the state of affairs he might have reached Dublin without encountering any resistance." Cf. Clarke, ii. 373.

prevent the enemy going to Dublin.¹ Four regiments were stationed at Drogheda, whither the Duke could retire if hard pressed. In the capital James and the brutal Rosen were raising an army to meet Schomberg. The latter ordered twelve regiments to invest Carrickfergus, and for a week the town held out. On surrendering, its garrison was allowed to retire to Newry.² The Enniskilleners, remembering Galmoy's atrocious deed, argued that it was positively wrong to permit men guilty of many excesses to depart unharmed. As the defeated men were leaving, there arose cries of, "There is my Sunday gown!" "Look at that woman in my best smock!" and, "Zounds, but that's my grey pony again!" and they proceeded to seize their property.³ It was with difficulty that Schomberg saved the lives of the Jacobites, the Enniskilleners feeling intensely furious with them.

On the fall of Carrickfergus the English marched to the village of Belfast, and on the 2nd of September they proceeded to Newry with the Inniskilling horse and the 5th and 6th Inniskilling Dragoons as advance guard.⁴ Both Story and Bonivert record the eagerness with which their English comrades surveyed these troops. Story, the chaplain to Lord Drogheda's regiment, writes: "I wondered much to see their horses and equipage, hearing before what feats had been done by them. They were three regiments in all, and most of the troopers and dragoons had their waiting men, mounted on garrons (these are small Irish horses, but very hardy); some of them had holsters and others their pistols hung at their swordbelts. They showed me the enemy's scouts upon a hill before us; I wished them to go and beat them off, and they answered, 'With all their hearts, but they had orders to go no farther than where they saw the enemy's scouts,' adding in dissatisfied tones, foreseeing some of our present-day tactics, 'They should never thrive so long

¹ He records laconically in his *Memoirs* that he had retired according to orders.

² Kazner, ii. 297-299.

³ Story; *Great News from Duke Schomberg's Army*, Chester, Aug. 31, 1689 (London, 1389, Thorpe); Nihell's *Journal*.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 256-258; *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*.

as they were under orders.'"¹ The soldier-like Bonivert watched them with professional eyes, and wrote: "The Inniskilling Dragoons came there (Newry, 1690) to us. They are but middle-sized men, but they are, nevertheless, brave fellows. I have seen 'em like masty (*i.e.* mastiff) dogs run against bullets."² Mackay observed their promptitude in planning an expedition and their rapidity in executing it.³ Captain de Bostaquet tersely describes them as serving well, "s'ils n'étaient point si picoreurs sur lesquels on pourrait faire fonds."⁴ The Commander-in-Chief formed as high an opinion of them as these eye-witnesses, relying more on them than on the newly raised English regulars.⁵

As the English approached Newry the Duke of Berwick, having set the town on fire and having broken up the roads, withdrew to Drogheda. Schomberg was intensely provoked at the burning, and by his trumpeter warned the Duke that if any other towns were thus treated the English would refuse to give quarter, and this threat proved effective.⁶ He advanced through a deserted country, and encamped about a mile north-west of Dundalk. The camp was pitched on low-lying, marshy ground at the foot of some hills, the river covering the front; entrenchments and Bellew Castle protected the right flank, and an arm of the sea secured the left. Schomberg was quite free from danger of attack. He was therefore going to employ the Fabian policy in order

¹ Kazner, i. 306. "They could not endure orders, but declared at each command that they could do no good if they were not allowed to do as they liked. However strangely thus contrasted with Schomberg's strict discipline, he found it good to make an exception with them, and to leave them to their own genius. The result showed here also the advantage of the general's knowledge of men, and these light troops rendered the most excellent service" (*ibid.* ii. 296).

² Bonivert, "Journey to Ireland," Sloane MSS., 1033 (Brit. Mus.). Their uniform was probably grey. Sir A. Conyngham to Clarke: "for I think no one else will desire them (*i.e.* the clothing) being the livery of my regiment" (Mar. 16, 1691. Clarke MSS., T.C.D.).

³ Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.). Mackay gives 86 pages "Touchant la Campagne d'Irlande," then 6 pages of observations in English. There are 106 pages "De la Campagne d'Irlande en 1691."

⁴ *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet.*

⁵ Schomberg to William, Sept. 20: "The Inniskilling troops appear to have goodwill to the service, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of Irish lords." Contrast Kazner, i. 305.

⁶ Klopp, v. 50; Kazner, i. 303, ii. 300.

to ascertain the plans of his opponent.¹ One entry in his diary is typical: "Le 13 et 14 il ne s'est rien passé de nouveau."² Another runs thus: "Le 19 il ne s'est rien passé qui mérite d'être écrit."³

The army, raised by James and Rosen, assembled at Drogheda and numbered some twenty thousand men. Their confidence had been shaken by the results of Derry, Enniskillen, and Newtown-Butler.⁴ Despair and disease had wrought grave havoc amongst them; fever, ague, and dysentery had all run their deadly course. The present force included good cavalry, fair infantry, and many inefficient officers. The counsels of their generals were conflicting. Some hoped to persuade James to abandon Dublin and cross the Shannon. Rosen wanted to withdraw at once to Athlone, and to defend the line of this river until winter set in, and thus gain time to discipline his men and to obtain supplies for them.⁵ He also perceived that the loss of a battle now would be fatal to the plans of Louis. Moreover, the Shannon and its lakes presented a natural barrier to the enemy. From the fortified towns along its banks they might be assailed without fear of pursuit; the mountains of Connaught abounded in retreats, access to which was known only to the Irish. If the river were crossed, the English might be harassed by guerilla warfare or might be crushed in detachments. Tyrconnel threw his weighty advice against this plan of Rosen and James resolved "not to be walked out of Ireland without having at least one blow for it."⁶ No doubt the King feared the results of such a retreat upon his fresh levies. Rosen

¹ "The results of waiting and delaying weigh more heavily on the enemy than on us. Want and necessity will wear him away, and he cannot comfort himself with the hope of any considerable reinforcements." So Schomberg in Kazner. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 263-264, 269-270; *Macariae Excidium*, 323-324; Kazner, ii. 302.

² Kazner, ii. 303.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 307, 310.

⁴ James was badly informed about the enemy's forces—they were much overestimated.

⁵ Klopp, v. 53; Clarke, ii. 375; Berwick, i. 41, 377. The advice was similar to that which nine months before in Whitehall the Abbé Rizzini, the Queen, and others had given. Clarke, ii. 378: "Yet," writes James, "the French did not cease advising a retreat to Athlone, and consequently the surrender of Dublin." He mentions Rosen as the most eager of the French for the proposed retreat. "He (*i.e.* Rosen), according to his usual prudence, gave no other advice than that of not fighting and retreating."

⁶ Clarke, ii. 375.

trembled at the decision, for he was well aware of the defects of the officers he commanded. The vacillations of James produced the usual evil results. Nothing lay between Schomberg and Dublin except the river Boyne and the Pass of Duleek. A well-executed diversion in the west might have compelled the English to retreat and might have gained a marked advantage in the campaign. Schomberg foresaw this and despatched Colonel Lloyd with five hundred Inniskillings to Sligo.¹ Colonel O'Kelly was also sent west with the intent of surprising Sligo, but he was himself surprised. For the Inniskillings crossed the Curlew mountains and astonished the outposts by their vigorous attack at the dawn of a foggy autumnal morning. Over two hundred and fifty were killed, three hundred captured, including Colonel O'Kelly, and eight thousand head of cattle taken.² The Inniskillings lost no more than fourteen men. Schomberg was so delighted with this success that he paraded the Inniskillings at Dundalk, and praised them for their soldier-like qualities, the veteran riding along the whole line with head uncovered.³ The compliment was gratifying to the men, for all knew that a former Marshal of France was before them. Had the rest of the army shown the same spirit in action Schomberg might now have marched upon Dublin, but he knew that they were unfit, and he determined to remain on the defensive for the short time that remained of the military season. Sarsfield atoned for Lloyd's victory by the skilful capture of Jamestown and the clever surprise of Sligo, the key of Connaught. He left troops in these places and in Galway, thus holding the western province for James. Rosen, encouraged by these successes, attempted to cut off Schomberg's communications with Newry, but he failed to despatch a

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, Oct. 8, 1689; *Schomberg to the King*, 287-288, 313-314, 320.

² Lloyd's Despatch, Sept. 1689.

³ Schomberg's name was probably known to the Inniskillings from the stories of their fathers, some of whom had served in the regiments which he commanded in Portugal. Kazner, i. 306, ii. 310: "Le Duc a ordonné que l'Artillerie et la Mousqueterie fissent trois décharges pour cette bonne nouvelle, et pour cet effet on a ordonné qu'on approchât quelques pièces de canon le plus près qu'on pourroit du camp des ennemis afin qu'ils en entendissent mieux le bruit."

sufficient force. In November he made a more vigorous attempt, and sent General Boisseleau with seventeen hundred men. His troops penetrated into the town, but were eventually driven out.¹ For some months there was a lull in operations though William strongly urged Schomberg to vigorous action before fresh troops came from France and before disease invaded his ranks. The cautious old General refused to take risks for he saw with Rosen the weighty effects of the loss of a battle.² An unfavourable result "auroit indubitablement causé la perte de toute l'Irlande, fortifié le parti des rebelles d'Ecosse, et relevé le courage des mécontents et mal-intentionnés, dont la France fait bien les moyens d'entretenir sourdement les factions."³ Moreover, if his recruits were once put to confusion it would be impossible to establish order. With our increasing knowledge of the conditions of both armies we see that two courses lay before the Commander. He might have occupied and protected Ulster till he received reinforcements in spring, or he might have made a successful raid upon Dublin. By following the first course, with Lisburn as his headquarters, he could have captured Charlemont in addition to Carrickfergus and Newry. By trying the second at once he might have surprised Dublin. Avaux avers that if he had done this when he landed, James had not two thousand men ready to meet him. The Irish army was then demoralised by its failure before Derry, and had not yet received fresh drafts. At the end of August it could have offered no effective resistance to the English. In pitching the camp at Dundalk neither one plan nor the other was followed. In fact, Schomberg seems to have miscalculated the strength of the forces opposed to him.⁴ Two towns, weakly organised, had defied the might of James, and how could he meet fourteen thousand men? Perhaps this was the determining consideration when he

¹ Story, 10.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, Oct. 6 and 8, 1689, 285-288; Kazner, ii. 311.

³ Kazner, ii. 334, 346: "Enfin s'agissant d'un si grand intérêt, il crût ne devoir rien hasarder par la précipitation, croyant bien qu'il ne hazardoit point pas le retardement."

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 309, reckons the enemy at over 42,000 strong!

marched to Dundalk, but fifty miles distant from the capital. Cromwell had captured two Irish towns and the remainder of his campaign was little more than a triumphal march, and the same fortune might befall him. Schomberg left out of account the rainy weather, the devastated land, the lack of commissariat arrangements, the new spirit of the Irish troops, and the speed with which the recently raised Irish army came into the field.¹ Every day's delay in initiating such an advance upon Dublin saw thousands of men crowd to the banners of James. The feeble array of two thousand grew to a respectable muster and became thirty thousand.

The state of the army seemed sufficient to justify the Commander in rejecting the advice of the eager William.² The finance, the transport, and the supplies of his army were all badly managed.³ Fifteen thousand men must be provided for and there was no organised commissariat. The Commissary-General, Henry Shales, gathered at Belfast large supplies, but he lacked a field train; no transport existed to carry material to the front.⁴ The army was barely three days' march from Belfast before "provisions were very scarce."⁵ What was to happen in the Crimea happened now. There was plenty of flour, beef, bread, and brandy at Belfast, but not at Dundalk. There was no bread issued to the officers because there was not sufficient for the men. When the army halted the officers were forced to dig out potatoes and to forage for stray herbs and vegetables. They knew that little was to be obtained from the deserted country through which they had marched. True, the corn still lay in the fields, but it had rotted with the heavy rains; the other

¹ Klopp, v. 55.

² Schomberg's Despatches, Oct. 3 and 8. He called a council of war: the members were unanimous in their opinion that the want of provisions and transport did not permit a march southwards. He desired their opinion in writing and sent it to William. Kazner, ii. 344: "Le défaut des vivres et des voitures pour les convois ne leur permettoit point de marcher aux ennemis."

³ Schomberg's Despatches, Sept. 20, Oct. 3, 6, 8, 1689.

⁴ Kazner, ii. 288: "Il (*i.e.* Schomberg) s'en fâcha tout de bon contre le commissaire des vivres Shal. On ne fait point même s'il n'en aura rien fait savoir à Sa Majesté. Ce que l'on fait bien est, qu'il a cru que Shal trompait Sa Majesté dans la fonction de sa charge, en ne donnant pas à ses troupes le nécessaire." Lord Acton marked this passage.

⁵ Story.

crops had been devoured or destroyed. When the supplies did come from the north the starving men found them unwholesome. The beef was uneatable and the brandy undrinkable. Shoes were sent, but even two months after the Treasury had paid the bill they had not arrived at the camp.¹ Commissary-General Shales wanted to use the artillery horses till he had formed his own transport, but the officer in charge explained that his horses "didn't list" to draw wagons.² Schomberg overruled this objection. Shales indeed had been sent horses, but these were required at Chester for the embarkation of stores.³ The lack of organisation apparent on all sides was especially noticeable in the transport department. Besides, no proper understanding existed between the Commissary-General's department and the Admiralty. Shales, for example, might have used store-ships, but they were not in his department. The captain of a man-of-war would require an order from the Admiralty before he would consent to transform his trim vessel into a store-ship. Of course this separation of departments inevitably meant delay at home, even though this spelt death and disaster in the field. The difficulty of securing steady supplies added to the load of anxiety that rested upon Schomberg. He was also much worried by the inefficient state of the English peasants he commanded. His musketeers were unpractised in the art of loading their pieces, his dragoons were unable to manage their horses. Ball practice and company firing were ordered, and the cavalry were instructed in modes of foraging.⁴

To increase Schomberg's anxieties he was met by treason in the camp as well as by disease and inefficiency. Some men from the Low Countries wrote to Avaux, and the cunning Frenchman encouraged their correspondence. Schomberg heard of the plot, and found fresh reason for

¹ Schomberg's Despatches, Sept. 20, 27; Oct. 6, 8, 1689.

² Story.

³ Shales' answers to the two inquiries of the Committee of Parliament for Accounts, etc., respecting the provisions of the army in Ireland when he was Commissary-General, Nov. 25, 1690.

⁴ Schomberg's Despatches, Aug. 9, Nov. 16, 1689; Mar. 3, 1690; Oct. 3, 8, Dec. 26, 1689. Kazner, ii. 302. Lord Acton marked this important page.

not venturing to attack Rosen. For the conspirators had agreed that if a fight took place, some French companies were to fire during the action on their comrades and go over to the Irish. If not, the enemy were to be brought into the camp by the craft of Duplessis, the ringleader. Schomberg dealt sternly with those concerned in the plot: six men were hanged, and two hundred sent to England in irons.¹

James, aware of this plot, marched within three miles of Dundalk, but the wary Schomberg refused to accept battle.² The former knew and feared the effects of inactivity and sickness, hardship and discipline upon the Irish, and though his numbers were superior and the spirit of his men admirable, he was desirous of keeping up the *morale* by the inspiration of contest.³ His army was in a fair condition of efficiency, and the men wanted to meet the enemy. His chief superiority consisted in at least eight to ten thousand well-mounted cavalry, of which Schomberg on landing had never more than two or three thousand. Stevens remarks: "The army was punctually paid, the brass money passed as current and was of equal value with the silver, which made the camp so plentiful of provisions that I have seen a good carcase of beef sell for eight shillings, and corn for ten or twelve shillings a barrel, good mutton for twelve to thirteen pence a quarter, geese for sixpence or eightpence, and so the proportion of all sorts of provisions. French wine and brandy was twelve shillings the bottle at headquarters; sutlers ask five or six shillings. The scarcest thing was ale, and yet no great want of it at threepence a quart. There are three reasons of this good provision: (1) The want of buyers in the market towns, most of the Pro-

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, Sept. 23, 1689, 269-270; Kazner, i., footnote on pp. 316; ii. 308-309, 328.

² Kazner, *Schomberg*, ii. 338: "The same circumstance, which prevents the enemy from forcing me into an engagement, that is because he can only reach me by two or three highways over the marshy ground which lies between us, also prevents my marching against him, whilst besides he has also a little river and some heights before him." C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 285-286. William thought the army might move west. "But," replied Schomberg, "the army is without shoes. A march of two days would leave half of my men barefoot. Besides their other miseries."

³ Schomberg's Despatch, Sept. 27; Clarke's *James II.*

testants having fled, and the Catholics are in the Army or retired for fear of rebels, and even of our own men. (2) The natural inclination of the people to the army that refrained the enemy from making inroads into the country. (3) The good order observed, whereby the soldiers were refrained from committing outrages upon the people, which made them have recourse to us more freely.¹ The happy success of this camp so far victorious as that the enemy had refused the battle, and that it was credibly reported through the sickness and hardships of the camp they had lost ten thousand men, had not only given a great reputation to his Majesty's affairs, but left the hearts of all true loyalists to an assured hope of extraordinary success next summer."² The enemy, he notes, had twenty-two thousand men at first, but now they had only twelve thousand.

The English General was resolute in his determination not to fight till he deemed himself ready.³ Meanwhile he was meditating upon the advisability of having another force landed in the west. Colonel Lloyd's victory had demonstrated the importance of Connaught. If one army moved along the Shannon, and his marched to Dublin, the simultaneous movements might crush Sarsfield and Rosen. William was insistent that he should at once go to Dublin, but Schomberg resolutely refused to do so. With the terrible plight of his own force he was acquainted, and he assumed that the troops of the enemy were well-armed and well-trained; they could not be so bad as his own. Moreover, they were superior both in numbers and in the character of their officers, for many were French

¹ This entry in the diary is on Friday the 15th.

² Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.). *C.S.P., Dom.*, Sept. 25, 1689, 272-273; Sept. 28, 276-278; Oct. 23, 299-301, 336-337. Bellingham's *Diary*; Clarke, ii. 382-383.

³ On the state of the army see W. Harbord's important despatch to the King, *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 276-278: "As to our wants, the greatest are shoes, some warm coats for the men, forage and oats for our horses, carriages, and ovens to bake our meal into bread, and some care to be taken of our sick men." See another despatch, *ibid.* 293-294, 299-300: "There is no doubt our troops would have beaten the enemy, as often as they could have been brought fairly to them, but you cannot imagine what a difficult country this is to march in; 'there is no passing but just upon the highways,' with bogs on either side, and these ways are 'full of bridges,' mostly ill kept or 'broken down at the ends,' so that 'before a man can come at the bridge, he must wade at least up to the knee.' Many smaller rivers have no bridges at all, and now, in the wet season, reach to the soldier's waist."

with continental experience. The incapacity of the men in command was demonstrated by the piteous plight of the camp. The unusually heavy rains descended on the low-lying soil. The ignorant and indolent officers delayed the erection of huts till it was too late to procure dry timber for the walls or dry straw for the roofs.¹ The men did not renew the fern for their beds, and they did not drain the soil. To the miseries of insufficient food were added exposure and dirt. Fevers completed the work that these had begun. Within a month after their arrival at Dundalk, out of a force of fourteen thousand, one thousand were in hospital.² The callousness of the men reached such a stage that they made use of their dead comrades for pillows and seats, and when they were carrying the dying from the tents to the hospital, those who remained behind complained that on that account they were more exposed to the wind.³ The soldiers perished at first by scores and afterwards by hundreds. Stevens notes in his *Journal* on Saturday the 25th of August, "A flux in Schomberg's camp and vast numbers died daily. The weather continued very various, sometimes great rain, then very sharp weather, then foggy and mirling."⁴ The Enniskillen men and the Jacobites, accustomed to the climate, and the Dutchmen, inured to dampness, survived, but the peasants of Yorkshire and Derbyshire were unable to resist the combination of evils.⁵ There were few doctors, and their medicines were for the cure of wounds, not for the removal of pestilence.⁶ Schomberg did all that one man could do to avert the dangers with which he was threatened, but he received

¹ Schomberg's Despatches, Sept. 20, 27; Oct. 3, 8, 12; Nov. 4, 1689. Schomberg wrote, Dec. 26, 1689: "I never was in an army where are so many new and lazy officers. If all were broke who deserved it on this account, there would be few left."

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 3; *Macariae Excidium*, 329-330.

³ Kazner, i. 316.

⁴ Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.).

⁵ Schomberg's Report, Jan. 9, 1690; Kazner, i. 313, 321. He remarks that English soldiers succumbed first to want and deprivation. "The English nation is so delicately bred, that, as soon as they are out of their own country, they die the first campaign in all countries where I have seen them serve." *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, 401. On the reasons why the Dutch remained in better health than the English, see the *Historische Magazin von den Herrn Meiners und Spittler*, i. 158.

⁶ Kazner, i. 310.

scanty support from his staff. The more deaths there were the more vacant pay came to them at the next muster-day.¹ Hampered as he was by such heartlessness, the General did not spare himself. He gave out coal to save his men the labour of searching for wood. Stimulants were ordered to be given to them.² The camp was shifted from the low ground to high; the sick were sent on board vessels lying in Belfast Lough. The Jacobite Secretary for War, Nagle, observing the grievous condition of the English, tried to induce them to desert, comparing their sufferings to those inflicted by God on the host of Sennacherib.³

It is not perhaps altogether fair to blame Shales for the shocking condition into which the army had fallen. Probably he was no worse than many of the officials of those corrupt times. He was ill-supported at headquarters, where carelessness, ignorance, and avarice reigned. What was true at Court was true in camp. The officers imitated the example of their masters.⁴ The colonel derived an income out of the off-reckonings; the captain secured the pay of men killed; and the quartermasterships and regimental agencies were openly sold. The chief cause of all the disasters lay in the lack of organisation, notably seen in the fact that there was no efficient commissariat transport train. Even when large supplies of beef and brandy, bread and coal had been provided, the high death-roll continued and increased. The peasants were helpless and improvident; they could not be induced to take sufficient care for their own health and comfort. James's peasants suffered severely also, for out of a total of forty thousand men, about fifteen thousand died. Both armies contended no more for the honour of victory, but for the reputation of which could with greater steadfastness look the angel of death—who was encamped with them—in the face. At the beginning of November the Jacobites went into winter

¹ *Proceedings of the House of Commons*, Nov. 26, 1689; *Commons' Debates*, ii. 353; *Proceedings*, Nov. 27, 30; Dec. 2, 1689.

² *Treasury Papers*, Feb. 19, 1693.

³ *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91); Nagle's *Letters*, 251-253; *Macariae Excidium*, 326-330; Kazner, ii. 305.

⁴ Kazner, i. 300.

quarters, and Schomberg was glad to follow their example.¹ At last he could retrieve his mistake of leaving Ulster, for his hope of the speedy conquest of Ireland had proved a dream. He moved his camp from fatal Dundalk to Lisburn. When he had pitched his tents there he had fourteen thousand men, and now only seven thousand seven hundred survived to strike them.² Some regiments had not sixty effective men in their ranks. When the long array of wagons laden with sick began, Schomberg stood for hours in the wind and rain, watching the sad procession with sorrowful eyes. The old General thanked the men as they defiled past him for their faithful services, sympathised with their plight, and inspired them with fresh hope and courage. He reproved some officers who he observed were not treating their soldiers with like care and tenderness. The sight of this venerable man who was shaking with age and with emotion moved the men to tears. The veteran Commander had wisely forbidden military pomp at funerals, because it depressed the spirits of the sick and raised the spirits of the Irish.³ Every time the Irish heard the volleys fired at the graveside they knew they had an enemy the less to contend with.

To James was vouchsafed a splendid opportunity of attacking the enfeebled army.⁴ As they marched to Lisburn, with many sick and disabled, Rosen might have inflicted a serious blow upon them. A retreat is costly in

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 334-335, 342-343, 346-347, 348-349, 351-352, 359, 365-366, 367-369—this letter to the King is very valuable—374-375, 400-402, 409-411, 413, 415, 420, 436-437, 452-453, 462, 465, 468, 498, 509-510, 528, 531, 532, 536, 542-543, 556-558, 566-567. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 3-4, 7-9, 26, 33, 35, 37-38.

² Story; Kane; *London Gazette*, Dec. 1689 and Jan. 1690. Cf. Kazner, i. 321; *C.S.P., Dom.*, Sept. 26 and Oct. 1, 1689, pp. 273, 283, 457; *Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D., vol. i. f. 25.

Total of the Army in Camp	14,000
Loss—Died at Dundalk	1700
Died on board ship in course of removal from Dundalk to Belfast	800
Died in hospital at Belfast	3800
	<hr/> 6,300
	7,700

Brigadier Kane says, "More than two-thirds of our English were carried off by distemper."

³ Kazner, i. 314-315.

⁴ For a list of his forces see *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 385-386.

men,—“more so,” maintains Napoleon, “than two battles.” The opportunity passed by, to the loss of James but to the gain of Louis. A crushing defeat at this early stage would not have served the interests of France: a prolonged struggle suited them precisely. When James struck his tents he left some men at Drogheda, while others were dispersed through Leinster. The King and his officers spent the winter in Dublin, where the plans of the coming campaign occupied their thoughts but seldom.¹ His forces had done tolerably well, but as Stevens regretfully notes: “The army became debauched by success. Dublin was a seminary of vice, an academy of luxury, or rather a sink of corruption, a living emblem of Sodom.”² O’Kelly bitterly complains that “the young commanders were in some haste to Salamis (Dublin), where the ladies expected them with some impatience.”³

The fact that Schomberg had not been beaten did not prove very consolatory in England.⁴ He had captured Carrickfergus, occupied Newry, and that was all his positive success. For three months nothing had happened and he had lost wellnigh half his army. He had not advanced nearer Dublin; on the contrary, he had fallen back to Lisburn. The critics not being on the spot did not understand his difficulties. When a Cabinet Minister of our own day was asked what the Ministry had done, he replied, very justly, that they had existed and had carried on the government of the country. Schomberg might well have taken this line of defence: he had lived through a terrible winter, and his men were somewhat more fit.⁵

¹ *Light to the Blind*, 577: “There was noe augmentation of troops made, as there should be, and that considerably: noe care taken in exercising the army in their respective quarters; in provideing arms and apparrell: in fortifying towns, and filling them with ammunition and victualls. This was not the way to secure Ireland and conquer England. . . . Alass! It is noe children’s play. The council must be stanch in knowledge and loyalty; the civil officers honest in their management; the military commanders must keep themselves from the fooleries of gameing, drinking and whorring; they must see that their souldiers be expert in the use of arms; be fedd; be apparrelled; be provided for in their sickness.” Cf. Gambetta’s difficulties in 1870-71.

² Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.).

³ *Macariae Excidium*, 41; cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 279-280; Kazner, i., footnote on p. 314.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, Sept. 25, 1689, pp. 272-273; *Macariae Excidium*, 330-331.

⁵ Kazner, ii. 336-337.

To mitigate English discontent, William announced his intention of going to Ireland himself.¹ But for the moment party exigencies forbade his setting out.

The events of these months in other parts of Ulster were not so monotonous and not so distressing to the Williamite side. From Lough Erne to Belfast stretched a succession of outposts, guarding the lines of communication. These, moreover, formed the basis for fresh expeditions against the Jacobites. The Duke of Berwick had been transferred from the work of keeping Irish communications open between Drogheda and Dublin to that of cutting off English communications between Enniskillen and Lisburn. The garrison of Cavan numbered two thousand, and Berwick sent seventeen hundred more to this town. Colonel Wolseley of Enniskillen had only seven hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. In true Enniskillen fashion Wolseley resolved to anticipate the attack, and he set out for Belturbet, about seven miles from Cavan.² There the Irish cavalry threw the Williamite horse into confusion, but on the advance of the foot behaved disgracefully. The Irish infantry sometimes showed the white feather, but Newtown-Butler and Belturbet are the only instances of their cavalry doing likewise. Charlemont was now the only fortress in Ulster still in the possession of James. It is situated between Armagh and Dungannon in an angle formed by the confluence

¹ Klopp, v. 90; Burnet, ii. 47. In a letter to Portland William says: "Everything now depends on a favourable issue in Ireland." Count Kōnisegg was sent to London to inform William that Leopold had not been able to make peace with the Turks. He was to urge upon the King to carry out his plan of landing in France. In Sept. 1688 William and Fagel had agreed that this plan was calculated to gain a lasting peace for all (Klopp, iv. 138); *C.S.P., Dom.*, 496, 528 (1689-90); Harris, 254, 309.

Schomberg asked permission to make a journey to England. "I see," he says, "it is hard to satisfy Parliament and people who are inspired with the idea that *one* Englishman, even if only a raw recruit and a novice in the art of arms, must defeat six of the enemy." Others have suspected as the reason of his request his desire to marry the Marchioness of Antrim. William replied: "If you leave Ireland at present then all there is lost. For it is impossible to hold it if you do not remain there. Therefore I ask you to remain" (Kazner, i. 325, ii. 321, 323). *Light to the Blind*, 578: "The Confederat Princes abroad, as the Catholick King, the States General, and the rest . . . wrote to the Prince of Orange, putting him in mind, that, if he did not goe himself in person into Ireland . . . the war therein would last long; and consequently his allyance would signify nothing unto them; and thereupon they must be forced to make a disadvantageous peace with the common enemy."

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 485, 534-535.

of two rivers. The garrison amounted to about three hundred men and was under the command of a hot-headed Irish officer, one Teague O'Regan. To the Marquis of Ruvigny's younger son, La Caillemotte, was committed the duty of investing it, and he discharged his duty in a manner worthy of the name he bore.¹ Colonel McMahon with five hundred men came from Castleblayney with supplies. Schomberg gave orders to allow him to enter but to decline to permit his departure, with the design that the consumption of rations by the extra soldiers might help to starve the place out.² The stratagem was successful. After a stout defence O'Regan, who seems to have been a sort of Charles Napier, surrendered on the 12th of May, but marched out with the honours of war.³ Schomberg came to meet the late Governor, who cut a most extraordinary figure. The last time the two commanders had met the latter had served as a lieutenant of the Scots gendarmes under the former. The Duke asked how it was that with the garrison so straitened for food, so many women and children should have been retained in the place.⁴ The Irish officers replied that their soldiers would desert unless they had their wives and sweethearts with them. "Well," retorted the veteran warrior, "there seems certainly to be a good deal of love in it, but also a good deal of foolishness"; and he at once ordered a loaf to be given to each man.⁵ The colonel of the Brandenburg regiment expressed his disappointment with the appearance of the men who resisted him. Behind the ill-clad, half-starved men he was unable to discern the

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 5, 13: "Charlemont has surrendered from want of provisions." *Ibid.* p. 14: "Letters from Ireland of the 18th say that the garrison of Charlemont was forced to eat horse hides." *Ibid.* p. 15: "They marched out with 600 men, bag and baggage, but very miserable creatures, being reduced to the utmost extremity, for when we entered the place there was but half a salted horse found, and that in the governor, Teague O'Regan's house, for his own use."

² *Light to the Blind*, 585: "It was easy in the winter to send provisions into that town for a much longer siege: yett it was not don. You shall meet with more of those faylures before the warr endes." Lauzun to Louvois, May $\frac{10}{20}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre; Kazner, i. 329, ii. 347.

³ *Great news from Ireland*. A letter from Lisnegarvy, Mar. 20, 1690 (Lond. 1690, Thorpe); *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 320; Story, 11; Clarke, ii. 385-390.

⁴ Among the wounded was Captain Rapin, who wrote the *History of England*. Cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 444.

⁵ Story.

spirit that animated them. It is strange to note that friends and foes alike expressed a certain contempt for the Irish soldiers. The loss of Charlemont showed James that the Williamites were slowly making sure of their ground, in order that they might go forward the more securely.

James was making his preparations, but he was seriously handicapped.¹ Ireland possessed no gun factories or arsenals, and it was not easy to import war material. The brass money passed muster at home; abroad, naturally foreign merchants refused to receive it. If they did, they added largely to their prices in order to make up the difference between the real value and the nominal value of the currency.² By a strange nemesis James's plan of cutting off supplies from the Williamites diminished his own resources. When his men came south, they drove their cattle with them, and with the crowd of the soldiers and cows the corn and grass threatened to fail. The march of the soldiery upset the balance of the excitable Irish farmer, and he neglected his land. France, therefore, was the sole hope of salvation for the King. The unfavourable reports forwarded to France prevented Louvois from doing so much for James as perhaps he had a right to expect.³ These demonstrated that no army composed of Irishmen could succeed. The skilful Rosen being recalled, James and his Queen implored Louis that the courtly Lauzun might replace him: the French king and his minister Louvois consented against their better judgment.⁴ Avaux and the new General were enemies, and the ambassador returned to France.⁵

¹ Burnet, iii. 18-19; Clarke, 387-388; *Macariae Excidium*, 338-339, 360-361. Cf. *Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lauzun, pour le Roi d'Angleterre, Ministère de la Guerre*, and Lauzun to Louvois, May $\frac{10}{20}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

² Louvois to Avaux, $\frac{\text{Dec. } 26}{\text{Jan. } 5}$, $16\frac{89}{90}$.

³ Avaux, pp. 546-547; Avaux to Louis, Feb. $\frac{18}{8}$, 1690.

⁴ *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick écrits par lui-même*, i. 64-65 (Paris, 1778); Klopp, v. 267; *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. i. fol. 44. Louvois to Louis: "Tout ce que je puis dire par avance à Votre Majesté c'est que si Dieu ne fait un miracle en faveur du Roi d'Angleterre, je crains bien que le Prince d'Orange ne fasse la conquête de l'Irlande avec beaucoup plus de facilité qu'il ne se l'imagine."

⁵ *Macariae Excidium*, 335-336, 383-384.

Before he left, Avaux said to Lauzun : " You are come to be a sacrifice to a poor-spirited and cowardly people whose soldiers will never fight and whose officers will never observe orders.¹ Almost the last thing the departing ambassador did was to advise the King to carry out a commercial treaty between Ireland and France.² James, however, refused, because he conceived that this policy might prejudice his chances in England. Lauzun landed with seven thousand three hundred men at Kinsale in March, and Louis insisted that he must receive an equal number of Irish to replace them.³ Accordingly four Irish regiments under Mountcashel sailed for France : these formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade.⁴ The instructions of Louvois to the new Commander deserve marked attention. He was " not to be carried away by the excitement of giving a sword-thrust or of winning a combat, but was to play a waiting game."⁵ In a double sense he was obliged to wait, for though he had long been expected, on his landing he found not cosmos but chaos.⁶ Bad as Shales might be, Lord Dover, James's Commissary-General, was worse. He had formed no magazines and depots, and had to import bread-stuffs.⁷ The organisation was characterised by all the weakness of the year preceding. The staff-officers fought with each other, with their general, and with the Government. Officials, who cared to enrich themselves at the expense of the prospects of their side, found ample opportunity :

¹ *Transactions of the Late King James in Ireland*. A tract, 1690.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 145-46 ; cf. Lauzun to Seignelay, May $\frac{6}{16}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

³ Louvois to Avaux, Nov. $\frac{1}{11}$, 1689. " 341 officers and 6751 soldiers. There came also 61 artillery-men, 6 commissariat officers, 27 surgeons, and hospital attendants" (Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois*, 4, 382, 422). Cf. *Dangeau's Journal*, December 29, 1689.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 338-339.

⁵ Lauzun to Louvois, Dublin, June $\frac{16}{26}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

⁶ For the orders of Lauzun, see *Addition à l'Instruction de M. Lauzun*, February 1690, at Meudun, Ministère de la Guerre, and Lauzun to Louvois, $\frac{\text{May } 28}{\text{June } 7}$, and June $\frac{16}{26}$, 1690. For the state of affairs see Avaux to Louvois, Mar. $\frac{14}{24}$, 1690 ; Lauzun to Louvois $\frac{\text{Mar. } 23}{\text{Apr. } 2}$; Lauzun to Louvois, Dublin, April $\frac{2}{12}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

⁷ Clarke, *James II.* ; Lauzun to Louvois, April $\frac{2}{12}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

more soldiers existed on paper than ever appeared on the parade-ground.¹ Though many of the Jacobites were little more than badly-armed peasants, they, however, were better on the whole than they had been.² Lauzun's men were experienced, and Sarsfield and Hamilton had in the course of warfare disciplined their hosts.

William was well aware that on the issue of the campaign might depend the fate of Europe. To his prescient gaze the international nature of the struggle was apparent. Realising, therefore, all that was at stake, he equipped a formidable host.³ His preparations must have filled the heart of Louis with joy. For if his rival went to the bogs of Ireland, he might disappear from the international stage for ten years. William knew the risk of his policy, and proved resolute in meeting it. In January 1690 he had sent across over seven thousand Danes under the Duke of Würtemberg; in May several English and Dutch regiments landed. With the men came the money to pay them and the weapons they were to use. Thus reinforced, the men who had been so pessimistic at Dundalk became as optimistic as their foes. The stern lesson taught at that terrible camp was not forgotten, and care was taken that responsible contractors were to furnish the commissariat with transport and provisions.⁴

With the landing of William at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June the campaign opened.⁵ At Whitehouse he met Schomberg and there learnt at first hand the awful details of the previous year's catastrophe, and the reasons

¹ Cf. Lauzun to Louvois, May $\frac{10}{20}$ and $\frac{\text{May } 28}{\text{June } 7}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 341; Lauzun to Louvois, May $\frac{20}{30}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

³ Köniseegg's Report, March 10, 1690; Hop to Heinsius; Egerton MSS., 2618 (Brit. Mus.); *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 441; *Macariae Excidium*, 341-343.

⁴ Schomberg's Despatch, Feb. 10, 1690.

⁵ Mullenau, *Journal of the Three Months' Royal Campaign of H.M. in Ireland* (Lond. 1690); W. Blathwayt, June 10, 1690 (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D., i. f. 19); Klopp, v. 138: "William wished to regain Ireland not to enslave it. He did not wish to widen the breach between the English and Irish nations but if possible to heal it. Therefore he preferred not to take many English troops to Ireland. For a victory gained not merely by English arms could not become a source of exultation for the English, nor leave behind in the Irish a feeling of being enslaved by Englishmen." Cf. Heinsius's instructions to Hop, the Dutchman who accompanied William in Ireland.

that underlay his tactics of that time. He drove to Belfast, where he was greeted with much enthusiasm by its villagers, and presented with addresses of welcome by the gentry, clergy, and ministers.¹ At Hillsborough he issued a proclamation, forbidding his men to plunder or to impress the horses and carts of the farmers without proper authority.² It was here too that he authorised the payment of twelve hundred pounds a year, from the Irish Revenue, to the Presbyterian ministers, on account of the "losses they had sustained, and their constant labour to unite the hearts of others in zeal and loyalty to us"; a grant which became the *regium donum*. William ordered the whole army to take the field, and when cautious Generals, like Schomberg, counselled delay, he said that "he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet, but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour."

On the 22nd he reviewed his thirty-six thousand men at Loughbrickland.³ English, Irish, French, German, Dutch, and Danish soldiers passed before him. Desolate though the country might appear through which they marched, it looked tolerably well in the eyes of William, accustomed to a land where nature had done little and man had to do much. "The country," he was heard saying, "is worth fighting for," a remark that Cromwell had made before him. When William compared it with Holland, his mind inevitably recurred to the power that threatened his native land, and he trusted that in Ireland he should be able to inflict a blow upon the spectre that haunted his waking dreams. At the head of his troops he marched through Loughbrickland and Newry, and came to that town of fatal omen, Dundalk.⁴ He spent

¹ *Clarke Correspondence*, June 19, 1690, vol. i. f. 22.

² *Ibid.* June 20, 1690, vol. i. f. 41.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, July 1, 44-45, 52, 54; *Macariae Excidium*, 186-187; Newry, June 19, 1690 (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D., vol. i. f. 21). A prisoner gave the names of James's regiments.

⁴ Lauzun to Seignelay: "We stand only eight miles from the enemy, but I believe to-morrow we shall be much nearer him, without an obstacle between us but a small stream which one can everywhere wade through. And so in spite of all our care a battle is hardly to be avoided. I will, however, do all possible not to let it come to a decisive battle. For I see beforehand the consequences" (Klopp, v. 143). "The enemy,"

much time in inspecting his regiments and in gaining a knowledge of his generals and his staff.¹ His leading officers were Schomberg and his son, Count Schomberg, the Count of Solmes, the Duke of Würtemberg, Lieutenant-General Ginkell, Lieutenant-General Douglas, and Sir John Lanier.² The English might dislike the taciturn King, but the feeling was not shared by the troops who followed William in the field. "They observed with delight," writes Macaulay, "that, infirm as he was, he took his share of every hardship which they underwent; that he thought more of their comfort than of his own; that he sharply reprimanded some officers who were so anxious to procure luxuries for his table as to forget the wants of the common soldiers; that he never once, from the day on which he took the field, lodged in a house, but, even in the neighbourhood of cities and palaces, slept in his small travelling hut of wood; that no solicitations could induce him, on a hot day and in a high wind, to move out of the choking cloud of dust, which overhung the line of march, and which severely tried lungs less delicate than his. Every man under his command became familiar with his looks and with his voice; for there was not a regiment which he did not inspect with minute attention. His pleasant looks and sayings were long remembered. One brave soldier has recorded in his journal the kind and courteous manner in which a basket of the first cherries of the year was accepted from him by the King, and the sprightliness with which his Majesty conversed at supper with those who stood round the table."

writes Berwick the same day, "by a short march towards its right by way of Armagh could have reached the plain south of Dundalk. Therefore it was resolved to give up Dundalk, to retreat and to take up a firm position on the right bank of the Boyne." In other words, they gave up a strong position without a battle in order to retire to a weaker one. Cf. Schomberg, July 4, in the *Hollandicis* of the K. K. Archives; "Nous aurons le dimanche pour faire nos dispositions, en cas que les ennemis nous attendent à Drogheda, comme ils font courir le bruit; mais je ne crois pas qu'ils nous attendent à la rivière de Boyne ayant quitté le poste le plus avantageux et qui estoit impossible pour nous de passer." Cf. Hoffmann's Report, July 11; Burnet, iii. 52-53; *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. i. fols. 34, 47; *Macariae Excidium*, 343-346.

¹ Story.

² *Clarke Correspondence*, June 18, 1690, vol. i. f. 20. For a different list see Story, 29.

On the 29th of June William followed James towards the Boyne, and on the last day of that month the two armies stood face to face, the Williamites on the north bank and the Jacobites on the south bank of the river.¹ James and Lauzun had chosen their position well. A deep river lay in front, beyond the river extended a morass; and beyond it again stretched rising ground, high and steep. The enemy could not see how many regiments lay hidden in the dips of the ground. Breastworks had been erected along the edge of the river; these and the fences of the fields afforded shelter for the defending force. Even if the Williamites succeeded in fording the river, the successive rises in the ground gave many opportunities for making a fresh stand. The stone house at Oldbridge had been entrenched and loopholed; the rest of the village also had been entrenched and was held by foot and Tyrconnel's dragoons. The Irish army possessed therefore a fine front and a sure retreat through Duleek. As William inspected their position he saw that with untried troops an attack on the front must be doubtful. The course of the Boyne forbade an attack on the left, and the idea of getting in the rear did not occur to him. A mile from Oldbridge he found a narrow glen and near it was a ford; they might afford an opportunity of taking the enemy in the flank, or of distracting attention from Oldbridge. At eight that June evening William called a council of war, not so much to ask advice as to state his plans for the morrow. He at once declared his intention of forcing the passage of the river, and his resolution was vehemently opposed by Schomberg.² Of his own intended flank attack he then said nothing.³ Schomberg pointed out the

¹ *Light to the Blind* calls the Boyne "the ould Rubicon of the Pale." On the battle, cf. the *Jacobite Narrative*, 1688-91, pp. 98-103.

² Kazner, ii. 354.

³ On the reasons for his silence, cf. Kazner, i. 331: "Such an important meeting (i.e. the council of war) must seldom have been of such short duration. No deliberations were held about their plans nor about the manner of executing them. William announced to his staff that on the following morning he would force the passage of the Boyne, and that he would send each of them the necessary orders before bedtime. This mysterious conduct was caused by his distrust of his English generals, because the king dared not make any difference between them and the foreigners without publicly insulting them. Even great Schomberg himself . . . could not be excepted. . . . But perhaps the king and Schomberg when reconnoitring had already agreed together." Cf. Frederick

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE

JULY 1. 1690.



importance of sending a strong force to occupy Slane Bridge that night, so that in the morning it might be ready to march straight on the Dublin road, take the enemy in flank or rear, and cut off his retreat at the pass of Duleek.¹ The Dutch officers opposed this plan, and William, unfortunately for himself, followed their advice. Had the men advanced that night, nothing could have saved the Jacobite army from irretrievable ruin. The events of the 1st of July would then have been final, and the bloodshed of Athlone, Aughrim, and Limerick averted. When the order of battle was brought to Schomberg, he growled that it was the first—it proved the last—he had ever received since he had commanded armies.² By this order the Williamites were to cross the Boyne in three divisions. The right wing,³ consisting of the greater part of the cavalry under Lieutenant-General Douglas and young Schomberg, was to cross at an early hour at the Bridge of Slane, three miles from the camp, with the intention of taking the enemy in flank. If the frontal attack succeeded and the Jacobites were forced to fall back, they were to get between them and the pass of Duleek in order to cut off their retreat. William with the left wing was at nine o'clock to attempt the river at a point farther down, between the camp and Drogheda. The centre under Schomberg was to cross at Oldbridge. The ability of William's dispositions at once impresses the observer. The first to face the enemy were the veteran Dutch soldiers—their teeth were black with biting cartridges—the disciplined Danes, and the invincible Huguenots; behind them came the recruits.

James too held his council of war, but his vacillating mind required advice. "Hesitation and half-measures ruin everything in war," said the great Napoleon. Like the luckless Napoleon III., James did not act in the spirit of this maxim. His numbers were not so great as those

the Great's maxim: "If I thought my coat knew my plans, I would take it off and burn it"; and cf. Stonewall Jackson's: "If I can deceive my own friends, I can make certain of deceiving the enemy."

¹ Kazner, i., footnote on p. 333.

² Parker, cf. *Jacobite Narrative*, 100.

Add. 28,120 (Brit. Mus.) contains a plan of

³ Klopp, v. 145; cf. Clarke, ii. 398.

of his opponent, but his strong position atoned for this deficiency.¹ The seven thousand three hundred Frenchmen and the Irish cavalry, under Berwick and Sarsfield, were reliable, though not much could be said for the remaining men.² Moreover, William must attack, and the assaulting force invariably suffers more severely than the one defending. It is strange that the experienced William committed the same mistake as the inexperienced James, for neither perceived that the key of the position was the road from Slane Bridge to Duleek. Hamilton tried to impress James, as Schomberg tried to impress William, with the significance of this pass, but in vain. Instead of following this sage plan, Sir Neill O'Neill set out for Rosnaree with 800 dragoons.

The 1st of July 1690 was a lovely summer morning : from a cloudless sky the sun shone on the blue river and the dewy grass, and glinted on the arms and accoutrements of the troops. At six o'clock the right wing, under Douglas and Count Schomberg, and comprising nearly all the English horse, was already on the road to Slane Bridge.³ Finding a ford at Rosnaree, Count Schomberg detached some cavalry and himself advanced to Slane. There the English horse overcame the resistance of O'Neill, who fell seriously wounded. They then crossed and drove the Jacobites in the direction of Duleek. Lauzun thought the main action would take place in the neighbourhood of Slane.⁴ Seeing his men outflanked, he swiftly hurried the French contingent to Rosnaree. William, observing this

¹ Clarke, ii. 391 ; Rousset, iv. 382 ; Rousset to Louvois, iv. 422. Cf. Hoffmann's Report, April 28 ; Lauzun's notes—in his biography—that he had 18,000 fit for war, their pay was reckoned for 50,000 ; Lauzun to Louvois, $\frac{\text{June } 21}{\text{July } 1}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre. Note that James concerned himself with the defensive, not with the offensive.

² On their equipment, see Desgrigny to Louvois, $\frac{\text{June } 22}{\text{July } 2}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

³ Mullenau ; Story ; *London Gazette*, June 30, July 13, 1690 ; Dalrymple, pt. ii. bk. v. ; Lauzun to Seignelay, July $\frac{16}{26}$, Ministère de la Guerre. The authorities for the battle—Kane, Mullenau, Richardson, Parker, Story, and the author of *Wars in Ireland*—were all at Oldbridge, and hence they give detailed accounts of events there. This means that little attention is bestowed upon the right wing and the English regiments.

⁴ Girardin to Louvois, July $\frac{2}{19}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

movement, sent Douglas with two brigades of English infantry to the assistance of Count Schomberg.¹ Between the opposing forces lay a great bog where cavalry manœuvres were impossible and even the foot floundered; across the morass they remained watching each other for hours.

There were now left at Oldbridge only nine regiments of foot, and the right wing of horse and dragoons. Tyrconnel, Berwick, and Hamilton were in charge of these forces. As soon as William ascertained from Douglas that his right wing had passed the river he gave the signal for Schomberg, with the remaining body, to storm the fords at Oldbridge. The great guns ceased the cannonade upon the Irish houses and works, and an ominous quietness—the hushed stillness of intense expectation—succeeded. Upon the peace of that summer day there fell the stirring sounds of fife and drum as the Blue Dutch Guards stepped out. Closely following these Guards came the two Huguenot regiments, the two Inniskilling regiments, Sir John Hanmer's Brigade, and the Danes. The whole river was covered with red and blue coats. The Dutchmen, under the Count of Solmes, climbed the breastworks in face of a heavy fire of musketry. The lack of artillery here proved of fatal import to the Irish. Berwick's horse charged the gallant Dutch, but were met with a well-sustained fire. The Derry men bravely supported their comrades, and in the end the fierce onset was repelled.

While the Dutch and the citizens of Derry were thus occupied at Oldbridge, Hamilton made strenuous attempts to check the advance of the other regiments, notably the Danes. He could not put his own spirit into the Irish

¹ Kazner, ii. 355.

The Queen's letter to Tourville shows us that French advice aimed at avoidance of a battle, retreat, delay. This plan is seen in a report from Lauzun to Louvois: "After the landing of the Prince of Orange in this desperate state of his (*i.e.* James's) affairs the choice of two resolutions remained for the King. One was a battle. This always seemed to me impossible. The other was to set fire to Dublin, and on his retreat from place to place to devastate the land completely. This plan seemed so cruel to the King that he could not make up his mind to it" (Rousset). Cf. Rosen and Avaux the year before. Lauzun was more smooth and compliant than his predecessors. Clarke, ii. 398; Rousset, iv. 422; Berwick, i. 45; Kazner, ii. 353. Cf. the views of Pietro Venier, a Venetian, 1695.

infantry, for Antrim's men ignominiously fled.¹ The Irish horse, under the spirited Captain Parker, charged fiercely through the French soldiers—as they had no pikes to receive cavalry—and Ruvigny's son, Caillemotte, fell mortally wounded.² Though dying, he still urged his countrymen forward, crying, “À la gloire, mes enfants, à la gloire.”³ Schomberg sprang forward to take the place of the fallen officer. Pointing to the French Roman Catholics he shouted to the Huguenots, “Come on, gentlemen, yonder are your persecutors.” A bullet in the neck laid the old Commander low.⁴ Near the same place and at the same time fell the Right Reverend George Walker, sometime Governor of Derry. An attendant informed the King of his loss, and William dryly inquired, “What took him there?” The Williamites, recovering from the effects of Hamilton's attack, drove the Irish Guards from the village. Through smoke and dust, confusion and noise, the right of their line continued to advance. The effects of these charges and countercharges were seen in the retirement of the Irish towards Donore.

William now began to put into effect his own movement against the right flank of the enemy. With his left wing he passed the Boyne between Oldbridge and Drogheda and was now moving to Donore. Placing himself at the head of the grey Inniskillings he said: “Gentlemen, you shall be my Guards to-day. I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you,” and

¹ La Hogue to Louvois, Kinsale, July $\frac{4}{14}$, 1690; Desgrigny to Louvois, Limerick, July $\frac{11}{21}$, 1690; Boisseleau to his wife, July $\frac{9}{19}$, 1690; and Boisseleau to Louvois, July $\frac{6}{26}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre; Kazner, i. 338.

² *Histoire de la Révolution d'Irlande*, 128.

³ Kazner, i. 340: “Zur Ehre, meine Kinder, zur Ehre.”

⁴ Mullenau was a surgeon. He states that Schomberg “was killed with a carbine-shot in the neck and three cuts over the face” (Kazner, i. 341, ii. 357). William received the next morning Count Meinhard Schomberg's report. Then he drew him aside and said: “I deeply lament your father, for I had a sincere friendship for him. I shall never forget his services nor yours. I owe this day to you and will remember it all my life. You have lost much in your father. But I will be your father, yours and your children's.” Count Meinhard could not utter a word. The King, feeling overcome himself, retired.

thus charged the Jacobites, but was repulsed with loss. His English stood firm, and the onset of the Irish cavalry broke in vain against the bristling wall of seventeen-foot pikes. This fine stand of the Irish cavalry near Platin House gave their infantry time to reach Duleek. Hamilton was resolved to gain time, and he fiercely assailed the Inniskillings and the Danes, though they were much superior in numbers. When captured, Hamilton was brought before William, the Sovereign he had betrayed. "Is this business over," asked the King, "or will your horse make more fight?" "On my honour, sir," came the reply, "I believe they will." "Your honour!" muttered William, "your honour!" Ten times did the brave cavalry charge, and ten times were they repelled.¹ The behaviour of the Irish horse merits a comparison with the devotion of the Austrian cavalry at Königgrätz. Parker's and Tyrconnel's troops suffered the severest losses. Berwick had his horse shot under him, and Hamilton was captured.² This great half-hour's struggle saved James's army from complete destruction.³ The defeat could not be turned into a rout, which might have ended the war at a single blow. Had the Irish foot shown the same determination as the cavalry the issue of the day might have been different. Though there was no complete rout, and their gallant cavalry had given them time to make fresh dispositions, the infantry could not be rallied in the hedgerows at Donore, but retreated in much disorder to Duleek. As it was, the Jacobite loss was sixteen hundred killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Though the Dutch Guards sustained heavy losses, yet William had not a third of this number slain.

From the old church at Donore Hill James could see that the battle of the Boyne had been fought and lost. There

¹ "Nous ne laissâmes pas de charger et recharger dix fois," writes the Duke of Berwick.

² "We began the retreat," writes Berwick. "A detachment of the enemy followed us. Every time we halted at a defile they did the same. Nay, I believe they were glad to build us a golden bridge. Indeed this inactivity may have been the result of the death of Marshal Schomberg, who had fallen in the hand-to-hand fight at Oldbridge. For without injustice to the Prince of Orange one may assert that Schomberg was the better general. However that may be, the enemy allowed us to retreat peacefully" (*Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 72-75).

³ *Jacobite Narrative*, 102.

he remained till he saw his own soldiers in full retreat. He then withdrew to Dublin, reaching the capital at ten that night.¹ To Lady Tyrconnel he announced that her countrymen had run away, and she retorted James had won the race. In Dublin he learned that on land the French had won the battle of Fleurus, while at sea they had triumphed over the English and the Dutch at Beachy Head. These two victories did not compensate Louis for the serious check given to his plans by his defeat at the battle of the Boyne. He had reckoned on a war lasting perhaps ten years, and now he heard to his horror that as the result of one fight the King had fled. Doubtless now he wished with all his heart that he had insisted that Rosen's advice to retire to the Shannon must be followed. In his parting interview with James at Versailles he had politely told his parting guest that he hoped not to see him again. He could not explain to the fallen Stuart that he trusted through his means to undermine the power of Holland, and so leave the way open for his own supremacy. James was to be a mere pawn on the international chess-board, but Louis forgot that unlike a real pawn James might want to play his own game. If pawn and piece could move of themselves as well as be moved, how complicated the game of chess would be! Avaux, when writing on the 21st of October 1689, warned Louis of this danger: "I can assure your Majesty that he would flee at the first check which would happen to him, and that he has advanced to Drogheda only to exculpate himself, and to be able to say that after having done all he was able he had been obliged to put his person in security, on the preservation of which his other realms

¹ According to his contemporary Pufendorf, Lauzun had to carry out Louis's commission that in case of an unfortunate issue of things in Ireland, James was to return hastily to France, so that poor James might still remain a French instrument of war against England (Berwick, ii. 47; Clarke, ii. 400; Pufendorf, lib. iii. § 45; Hoffmann's account, July 15). According to James, the real motive of his leaving Ireland was the hope that Louis would send an army to England, now destitute of troops. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 89: "Having sent for the Mayor and Aldermen he made a speech, in which he told them that he had justice on his side, but fate was against him. He therefore directed the release of the Protestants and the surrender of the city to the Prince of Orange and obedience to his orders, for there had been blood enough spilt already. After which he went from Dublin without doing any damage, leaving untouched the plate and furniture of the house where he lay."

depended." The prophecy had come quite true, for in less than nine months James saved his person though he lost his realms. On one occasion Rosen remarked, "What a pity your Majesty has not ten kingdoms more to lose." By his first flight he lost England, by his second he lost Ireland. Like Louis XVI., his flights proved most unfortunate not only to himself but also to his allies. The French applauded the runaway the first time, but they mocked him the second.¹ By both he gravely endangered the plans by means of which Louis XIV. schemed to add fresh realms to his native land. The military triumph of William was slight, but the escape of James to France converted it into a victory of the first magnitude. The French rightly refused to give the contest the name of a battle; to them it was a mere skirmish.² The immense political importance of the flight of James was, however, obscured by a succession of war scenes in Europe. The battle of Fleurus proved incomparably more murderous than the battle of the Boyne. Yet after a few days the importance of this victory was gone. The effects of the battle of the Boyne are deeply graven on the history of the world. For it decided first the fate of one kingdom and then strengthened the other and greater one. On Irish soil William was fighting not merely for the kingdom of England, but also for his fatherland as well as for his allies. Above all, he was fighting for the principle of liberty in the life of nations, the principle that the Grand Alliance had called into vigorous existence. On Irish soil James was in reality fighting, not for his own cause, but for that of his master, the King of France. William and James did not, as men have often said, represent the principles of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism;³ they rather represented the eternal struggle between liberty and tyranny. The Boyne proved to be to the despotic power of Louis what Austerlitz was to Austria and Jena to Prussia. It would have been well for the French monarch if the results of that skirmish had not been half hidden

¹ Rousset, ix. 426.

² *Ibid.* iv. 422; Klopp, v. 150.

³ Klopp, v. 142. The battle "had nothing to do with the Catholic faith."

from his view by the victories of Beachy Head, Fleurus, and Staffarda. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope both rejoiced to hear the good news from Ireland, for Gallicanism had at last received a severe blow.¹ While State religion had thus been checked, liberty had been allowed to develop more freely than before, and both these priceless blessings are the results of that memorable July day.

¹ Klopp, v. 167: "The victory of the Boyne appeared on English and Irish soil as a victory of Protestantism. That this victory was acclaimed in Vienna and Madrid from other reasons could scarcely be fully appreciated in England, and still less in Ireland." *Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D., July 20, 1690, vol. i. f. 55; W. Blathwayt.

CHAPTER V

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH-WEST

THE road to Dublin now lay clear for the Williamites, and their leader has been condemned for not following up his victory more quickly. The critic in his armchair—after the event—can pronounce a clear judgment, but to the General at the time the course of affairs is often obscure. The Irish had retired in fairly good order, and William did not know the character of the regiments of militia James had raised in Dublin.¹ Was it wise to advance immediately to the capital while Drogheda remained untaken? Moreover, he could not overlook the fact that his recruits had not met the French veterans in the fight; there they had encountered the Irish. The soldiers were too tired to engage in active pursuit of the enemy.² William himself was thoroughly wearied: for thirty-five hours out of forty he had been in the saddle. His siege train had not so far arrived. Above all, there was the vital consideration that his commissariat was not with the army, and the land was so exhausted that no resources could be derived from it. Besides these special reasons there remain those stated so forcibly by Von der Goltz and Sir Ian Hamilton. "The fear of a return blow," maintains the former, "provoked by

¹ *True and Perfect Journal of the Affairs in Ireland since H.M.'s Arrival in that Kingdom. By a Person of Quality, 1690.*

² Dalrymple, iii. 150; Burnet, ii. 59, 64: "After James's army was broken up William was of the opinion that the Irish would scatter and then surrender. A sharp pursuit would have accordingly brought about only a useless defeat. And he always had a horror of that." *Light to the Blind*, 604: "But the Prince of Orange observing the King's army to make so good a countenance, thought it more prudent to halt, and suffer them to marche away." Story, 89, 23; Clarke, ii. 400-401; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 70-72; *Villare Hibernicum*, 8.

premature pursuit and of losing the fruits of the victory in the endeavour to make it more complete will always restrain him (*i.e.* the General). . . . Every battle entails extreme excitement and the utmost strain of all the intellectual and physical forces. A state of exhaustion accordingly follows as a natural consequence. After a victory, moreover, there is a feeling that further sacrifices are purposeless, or that they would not be sufficiently recompensed by the probable additional results.”¹ “It is perhaps necessary,” holds the latter, “to have been a responsible commander during an attack to realise the immense reaction of relief when success is attained, a reaction coincident with an intense longing to tempt fate no further. ‘You have won the battle,’ a voice seems to whisper in your ear, ‘the enemy are going; for God’s sake let them go; what right have you to order still more men to lose their lives this day?’”² The day succeeding the victory of the Boyne, Drogheda surrendered, when summoned by De la Melonière, upon condition that the soldiers should be allowed to go to Athlone without arms.³ On the third day the army marched to Balbriggan, and the Duke of Ormonde advanced to the capital. William followed and found what all generals find, *viz.* that his movements must be controlled by political exigencies.⁴ There were loyal addresses to be received, and a provisional Government to be appointed. Amidst his political cares the King did not lose sight of his soldiers, for he ordered a particular muster to be made by the commissariat officers in his presence. He also now divided his army into two divisions, sending eight thousand under General Douglas to Athlone, while he was to lead the main body into Munster with the aim that both bodies should reunite before the walls of Limerick. This policy secured a twofold advantage. It left the Irish little time to recover from

¹ *The Nation in Arms*, 362-363.

² *A Staff Officer’s Scrap-Book*, i. 117.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 59; cf. 62: “I fancy the joy at St. Patrick’s church (*i.e.* at the thanksgiving service) was greater than could be expressed.” Dalrymple, iii. 145, 162; *Clarke Correspondence*, July 2, 1690, vol. i. f. 66; *Macariae Excidium*, 365.

⁴ *Clarke Correspondence*, July 19, 1690, vol. i. f. 64.

the effects of the defeat, and no time to fortify any town this side of Limerick. By this plan he also secured in Waterford a safe port where he could receive supplies from England and guard his transports.¹ For from papers taken after the battle of the Boyne he became aware that the French fleet intended to destroy the English victualling ships.² Douglas's orders were to invest Athlone, the central town in Ireland. It is built on the Shannon, the natural barrier of the western province.³ The river divides it into two parts: on the Leinster side is English Town and on the Connaught side is Irish Town. Its capture guaranteed the security of the north and the entry into the west. On the march the troops of Douglas plundered the peasants despite the fact that the latter had been offered papers of protection, provided they remained neutral. At Dublin William published a proclamation⁴ offering pardon and protection to all the common soldiers, farmers, labourers, and tradesmen who had taken up arms for James, provided that, before the first day of August 1690 they should return to their homes, surrender their arms to the nearest magistrate, and consent to live peaceably in the future. He promised not to punish them for any act of violence which they had committed by the order of their superiors, and to secure them in the quiet possession of their goods. Their leaders, however, were to be left to the fate of war, unless in the meantime they gave satisfactory demonstrations of penitence for past behaviour, in which case mercy would not be withheld.⁵ Of course this proclama-

¹ *Light to the Blind*, 618: "Here (i.e. at Waterford) the Prince of Orange may say, as Julius Caesar did in his expedition of Zela, *Veni, vidi, vici*; so many towns hath the Prince taken without resistance. Which if each of them had given, Orange had been undone. For the wars of Ireland would have been prolonged: and consequently the Confederacy abroad would have been forced within two years at the farthest to make a peace with France for want of the assistance of England; which was all employed against the Irish. By which peace all the power of France would fall upon poor England, to her chastizement for her frequent rebellion; and to the dethroning of that unnatural usurper." *Clarke Correspondence*, Aug. 7, 1690, vol. i. f. 84.

² *Clarke Correspondence*, July 22, 1690, vol. i. f. 67.

³ See the accompanying map. *Macariae Excidium*, 366-368. ⁴ Story, p. 93.

⁵ Klopp, v. 171. He holds that this limited and conditional amnesty led to another campaign. Of course the amnesty did not correspond to the wish of William.

Cf. Hoffmann's report in Klopp, v. 214; Lauzun to Seignelay, Limerick, July ¹⁶/₂₆, 1690.

tion was calculated to induce the Jacobite soldiers to desert their flag, and hence to bring the war to a speedy conclusion.

As Douglas approached Athlone the garrison set fire to English Town, and, breaking down the bridge, they retired to Irish Town. The river Shannon is extremely rapid, but there is a ford a little below the bridge passable on foot in dry summers. English Town and Irish Town were surrounded by walls of defence, but the fortifications were in unsound condition. On the 17th of July Douglas summoned the Governor, Colonel Grace, to surrender.¹ Firing his pistol in the air, the latter bade the trumpeter tell his master that "those were the terms he was for," and that "when his food was all gone he would defend Athlone until he had eaten his boots." In days gone by the walls of Jericho had fallen down before the besiegers, and evidently Douglas expected some such occurrence. For he had fetched a weak siege train: he had only two twelve pounders, ten smaller guns, and two small mortars, and insufficient powder for them.² Besides, his supplies of bread and provisions also commenced to run short and his soldiers were compelled to plunder. Forage became scarce and sickness broke out among the troops. "During our stay here," remarks Story, "the country people of all persuasions began to think us troublesome." Sarsfield too was reported to be on the march from Limerick with fifteen thousand men, and this daring general might cut off communication with Dublin and the main army.³ At dawn on the 25th of July 1690 the siege was raised, and Douglas, by skilful marches, led his men to Limerick to rejoin William.⁴ The results of this defeat proved distressing to the Protestants of the midland counties. They had taken protections from the Irish, and when Douglas arrived they came to him. When the English retreated they were obliged to follow

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 367. Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, Wolseley's letter, Aug. 10, 1690, vol. i. f. 87. He gives a vague account of the number of the enemy.

² Story. He belonged to Drogheda's Welsh regiment, which formed part of the expedition; Douglas to Portland (Clarke MSS. vol. i. f. 70, T.C.D.).

³ *Macariae Excidium*; Douglas to Portland (Clarke MSS., T.C.D.).

⁴ Harris, 282-283.

them as they had forfeited their old protections from the Irish, and their hardships during the march were keen. The plunderings of the English drove some Irish to become rapparees and they harassed the army as severely as ever the Spanish guerillas harassed the French in the Peninsular War.

In the meantime William was still busily engaged in political work in Dublin. He issued a proclamation ordering the withdrawal from circulation of James's brass money except at a fixed value. The brass crown was reduced to the value of a penny, the brass half-crown to a halfpenny, and the copper shilling to a farthing. Six months later its circulation was definitely stopped. On the 9th of July he left the capital and proceeded southwards in order to secure all the places in the south-eastern counties before assaulting Limerick.¹ The example of the army of Douglas proved contagious, for even the soldiers of William, to his grave displeasure, began to plunder. "The King is very strict and will suffer none to plunder, so that this part of the army will be very poor, because we are forced to be very honest."² On the line of march some Roman Catholics, for example Lord George Howard, met the Williamites for the purpose of taking out letters of protection, and the southern Protestants came to express their keen delight.³ The army advanced by easy marches by way of Kilcullen, Castledermot, Carlow, Bennet's Bridge, Rosset-Narrow, and Carrick-on-Suir. At Castledermot the Duke of Ormonde was detached to take Kilkenny, at Rosset-Narrow Schomberg was sent to occupy Clonmel, and at Carrick Major-General Kirke went to summon Waterford. The latter city was at first disposed to resist; its inhabitants sought to make better terms than those granted at Drogheda, but at length yielded. Duncannon held out till sixteen frigates under Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared in the bay.⁴ At Carrick the King informed his leading officers that the course of affairs in England

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 70.

³ Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 205.

² *Rawdon Papers*, Letter 142.

⁴ Klopp, v. 168.

necessitated his return.¹ The French had long held control of the sea, and at every moment they were expected to invade England. He proceeded to Chapelizod where he was obliged to hear complaints of the outrages committed by Douglas's men, of the deeds of Colonel Trelawny's regiment in Dublin, and of the proceedings of the commission lately appointed. On the 31st of July he issued a proclamation announcing to the Irish still in arms that on condition of surrendering their weapons they would be permitted to live unmolested in the town or place assigned for their habitation, and that, if necessary, a subsistence should be allowed them; but threatening that any who did not accept this offer would be declared traitors and would be abandoned to the will of the soldiery. The next day he dictated another, stating that if any foreigners now in arms against him chose to submit, he would give orders to have them furnished with free passages to their own country, or elsewhere if they chose. Directions were given at the same time that during the continuance of the war every Friday should be kept as a fast—a day for asking from God pardon for sin, and for supplicating a blessing on their Majesties' forces by sea and by land.²

Good news came from England and the King decided not to cross at present but to return to his army. The French had merely burnt Teignmouth and did not seem to entertain the design of a large invasion such as that of Ireland. On the 27th of July the march went on by Clonmel, Golden Bridge, and Sallywood to Cahirconlish, some six miles distant from Limerick. Here Douglas also arrived from his unsuccessful siege of Athlone.

¹ Klopp, v. 165: "Just as Louis by his injustice to the Emperor and the Empire in Sept. 1688 had left the way to England open for the Prince of Orange, and as again by his agents advising flight of James II. he had left the throne of England vacant for the Prince of Orange, so once more by his purposeless cruelty to a poor fishing village he helped above all else in uniting the Prince of Orange more closely with the English nation. The flames of Teignmouth showed the English nation that it was not the will of the King of France which hindered him from turning the shining towns and the stately castles of England into a heap of ashes like Mannheim, Speier, and Worms. Against this terrible enemy of human prosperity . . . there was only one deliverer, King William." Cf. Hoffmann, Aug. 11: "The common people cannot hear his (*i.e.* Louis's) name without horror."

² Cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 471; *ibid.* 1690-91, p. 22.

All the Jacobites, after the battle of the Boyne, seemed by a sort of instinct to move to Limerick, where they determined to hold out.¹ When James left Ireland Lauzun at once marched westwards, issuing orders that the Irish colonels were to hurry to Limerick as best they could, and he undertook to cover their retreat. On their arrival a council of the principal officers and leading men was convoked. Sarsfield was appointed second in command, and, as the men of Londonderry sent a deputation to William, so, after the example of Derry, a deputation went to Louis asking for assistance. Tyrconnel was not present at the deliberations, and did not approve of the proceedings.² He did not like Sarsfield, and he permitted his private feelings to control his public actions. The views of the two men differed widely. After the battle of the Boyne Tyrconnel conceived that all was over, and that the wisest thing to do was to make the best possible terms with William.³ Sarsfield, actuated by strong national pride, was resolute in advising the sternest resistance, for he thought that even yet there was some hope.⁴ Once more there were two parties among the Jacobites—the moderate party of

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 55-56, 360-361.

² *Light to the Blind*, p. 622. He "observed that the great army at first rayseed was disbanded to almost the moyety; he considered the ill success of the remaining army at Derry; their miscarriage at the Boyn; by which the province of Leinster and the best part of Munster was lost: that the King returned to France: that the French brigade was going away: that the brass money . . . was brought to noe value: that there was noe stores of provisions: that the province of Connaught . . . was not able to maintain the army and the vast multitudes of people entered thither from Munster, Leinster, and Ulster: that Lymerick was a very weak town, yett was their chief defence against the enemy: that, if the Prince of Orange should be beatten in a pitched battle, England with the assistance of Holland, would send another army, and another after that, rather than be at the mercy of the King, if he should be restored by the Irish: that the most Christian Monarch was not in a state to send them competent aydes, by reason that he had so many enemyes, as kept all his armyes at work: that, while the Catholic army was entire, it was the proper time to gett advantagious conditions from the Prince of Orange, who would readily grant them, for to secure his crown; that in fin it was not prudence in the abovesaid circumstances, by a strained undertakeing to run the risk of destroyeing the lives of the people, the expectations of their estates, and the hopes of enjoyeing their religion." Cf. La Hogue to Louvois ^{July 31} Aug. 10, 1690. *Macariae Excidium*, 370.

³ Lauzun to Louvois, Galway, ^{Aug. 24} Sept. 3, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

⁴ *Light to the Blind*, 623: "What these caballing gentlemen can say for continueing the warr against the sentiment of the Duke, is reduced to three points: that they have a sufficiency of men; that they have courage enough; and that they will have out of France a consummat general to govern their army; and therefore they will likely have a happy end. The truth of the three premised points I cannot deny" (*ibid.* 626).

Tyrconnel and the extreme party of Sarsfield. The former had been a favourite with the Irish, but now the latter was their darling. Boisseleau might act the Baker of Limerick, but Sarsfield proved the Murray of the defence. Twenty thousand men remained in the town, and the cavalry, under Berwick and Sarsfield, encamped on the Connaught side. As William approached they levelled the suburbs and burnt the neighbouring country houses in order that they might not afford protection to the enemy.¹ The Williamites were not numerous—no more than twenty thousand—for garrisons had been thrown into Dublin, Waterford, and the other towns *en route*. In spite of the reassuring news he had received, William wanted to hasten to England, and laid siege to Limerick with the view of ending the Irish campaign.² He heard that the commander Lauzun had left the city, for he was desirous of returning to France.³ “It is unnecessary,” Lauzun maintained, “for the English to bring cannon against such a place as this. What you call ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples.” His expression of opinion encouraged William to believe that a bold attack might induce Tyrconnel to yield. Besides, the Irish were still dispirited by the disaster of the Boyne, and in spite of the lack of a siege train there was some prospect that the place might be attacked with success.⁴

Limerick stands on the Shannon, some sixty miles from the Atlantic Ocean, and so far as its defence went, owed more to nature than to man. In the river lies King’s Island ; on it were situated the castle, the cathedral, and the old city, enclosed by a stone wall which had long ago defied the attack of Ireton.⁵ This English Town was

¹ Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. i. f. 78-80. Solmes’s letter on 80 is valuable. Cf. f. 81.

² Klopp, v. 169. It was expected that all would be ended in fourteen days. Cf. Hoffmann’s report.

³ Louvois to Lauzun, Versailles, July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre ; Avaux to Louvois, Oct. $\frac{21}{11}$, 1690 ; *Macariae Excidium*, 368-369 ; Lauzun to Louvois, Aug. $\frac{1}{10}$, and Aug. $\frac{16}{26}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

⁴ “Relation de la levée du siège de Limerick.” This contemporary account is to be found in the *Jacobite Narrative*, 260-627. Ranelagh to Clarke, Aug. 7, 1690 ; Marlborough to Clarke, Aug. 12, 1690 (*Clarke Correspondence*).

⁵ See the accompanying map.

joined by Balls Bridge to Irish Town on the Munster bank, while it was connected with the Connaught bank by Thomond Bridge. Irish Town, then quite small, was defended by a strong wall of stone; it had beyond it three outworks, two being on the front between the river and John's Gate, and one lying to the south-east angle. Behind the wall yawned a great ditch with a bank of earth and stones. To the left of John's Gate stood the Black Battery. Somewhat more than half a mile from Irish Town stood the ruins of an ancient church and Ireton's fort. Though a month had been spent in strengthening the defences of the city, none of these had received the care their importance demanded. The wall of English Town was guarded by a bastion near Balls Bridge, and at the north end of King's Island the Irish had built a fort.

It is evident that the situation of the town called for a simultaneous attack on the Connaught and on the Munster side. But with a force of only twenty thousand pitted against superior numbers, William dared not divide his army into two divisions separated by a broad river.¹ He was therefore obliged to content himself with assaults on the Munster side, knowing that the besieged could obtain supplies from Clare. On the 9th of August he marched from Cahirconlish and arrived at Ireton's fort. The same evening he summoned the place to surrender, but the Governor Boisselau replied that he had determined to make "a vigorous defence of that town, which his master had entrusted him withal." As the English approached the town Douglas commanded the pioneers to cut down the hedges in order to preserve his front unbroken.² The Irish had held the ford at Annaghbeg, north of Limerick, but before Tyrconnel set out for Galway he withdrew the defenders. To secure this passage three regiments of infantry and some artillery were stationed by Ginkell, who, together with Kirke, crossed the river, threatening a cavalry attack on Irish Town as well as English Town.

¹ The strength of the army had been diminished by the many garrisons. Klopp, v. 169.

² Story. Neerwinden in 1693 proved to the French the usefulness of this precaution. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 107.

The cannon opened fire upon the besiegers, and they replied as best they could by posting four of their field-pieces on the old fort constructed by Ireton some forty years before. The Danes also placed four pieces on another fort, which, according to a local tradition, had been built by their own ancestors. These guns, however, were small and made but little impression on the walls, weak as they were. The besiegers eagerly awaited the field-guns coming from Dublin : a train of one hundred and fifty-five ammunition wagons, five mortars, two eighteen pounders, six twenty-four pounders, twelve wagons with provisions, and a set of eighteen tin pontoon-boats were expected. Two troops of the 2nd Dragoon Guards were all the men saddled with the responsibility of conveying these precious supplies. On Sunday the 10th of August a French gunner came to Limerick with the news of their approach. Sarsfield volunteered to intercept them, and that same night with eight hundred cavalry he crossed the Shannon at Killaloe.¹ On Monday, under the guidance of a famous rapparee chief, Galloping Hogan, he lurked at Keeper Hill. His scouts informed him late in the afternoon that the convoy would spend the night at the castle of Ballyneety, that the escort was one hundred men, and that the password was, curiously enough, his own name. The escort party detailed a corporal's guard, but, like the troopers of Feversham at Sedgemoor, posted neither sentry nor vedette. Hogan guided the Irish carefully, and his skill contributed in no small degree to the success of Sarsfield's attack. In the confusion that ensued no effective resistance was possible : the men were slain as they slept.² The ammunition wagons of the guns were blown up, the provisions destroyed, and the pontoon-boats were smashed in pieces, but Sarsfield in his extreme haste failed to destroy utterly six of the guns. The roar of this terrific explosion was heard even in the camp of William.

On Monday a country gentleman, Manus O'Brien,

¹ Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 231; *Clarke Correspondence*, Aug. 12, 1690, vol. i. f. 90; *Macariae Excidium*, 370-372.

² Mullenau; Parker; Story; Theo. Harrison to the Rev. John Strype, Aug. 23, 1690, Dublin (*Ellis Correspondence*).

informed the English that Sarsfield had ridden over the bridge at Killaloe, but why or whither he knew not.¹ A letter written the same day to Sir Arthur Rawdon² gives similar information and hints at the plan of Sarsfield. An officer surmised that the brilliant Irishman had gone to hunt for mares' nests in the mountains, and asked O'Brien for details about a herd of cattle in which he was interested. O'Brien was so angry that he retorted "he was sorry to see general officers more concerned about cattle than the king's honour." The tale received no credence till it came to the ears of William, who at once grasped its importance. Immediately he ordered Sir John Lanier to take a body of horse in order to protect the convoy. Sir John did not set out until two o'clock the following morning, four hours after he had received his pressing orders. The causes of his fatal delay have never been explained, though in the *Clarke Correspondence* there are attempts—with little result—to clear up the matter. Very early in the morning while on the road he was startled by the appearance of a sudden flash of lightning, the quaking of the earth, and the noise of a fearful explosion. Arriving at Ballyneety they found dead men, live embers, shivered cannon, smashed gun carriages, charred provisions—the debris of the convoy. They wheeled to the left in the hope of intercepting Sarsfield, but he reached the city safely. Sarsfield had resolved either to succeed in this enterprise or to go to France.³ The daring deed had proved a signal success. In importance it is comparable to the achievement of Sir Sydney Smith when he captured the flotilla conveying the guns to Napoleon to be used at the siege of Acre. The defeats at Derry, Enniskillen, Newtown-Butler, and the Boyne had gained for the English the whole country save the south. The succession of disasters had so dispirited the Irish that they were beginning to think of giving up the contest.⁴ Sarsfield's

¹ Story; Berwick; Parker.

² *Rawdon Papers*, No. 143.

³ Burnet, ii. 58; Clarke, ii. 416; Dumont MSS.

⁴ *Clarke Correspondence*, Aug. 14, 1690, vol. i. f. 93: "The French leave Limerick to the Irish and betake themselves to Galway; a very great help to the speedy ending of the war in Ireland."

brilliant manœuvre raised their spirits to a degree out of all proportion to the success gained, great as it was.¹ He now pointed out to the garrison that unless William surrounded the city—and the men could see that the Clare side was uninvested—his prospects of capturing the place were small. Still, the triumph achieved did not induce Tyrconnel and the French faction to take a more favourable view of the chances of ultimate victory. Tyrconnel therefore summoned a meeting of the general officers of the Irish army at Galway, and read to them a letter from his Majesty giving orders to such of the military officers as pleased to take advantage of the French fleet then riding in Galway Bay to join him in France, and permitting the men of inferior rank to submit to the Prince of Orange and to make for themselves the best terms in their power.² Of course the proposal met with strong opposition from Sarsfield. He resolutely maintained that when the King wrote the letter he could not have been aware of the true state of affairs, and that it never would have been written had his Majesty known that there was a considerable army still in the field, able and willing to fight to the last man, and that the province of Connaught could easily hold out until relief would have time to arrive.³ To this he added that, let others do as they might, he was determined not to turn his back on his country in this hour of danger. His words and his deeds turned the scale against Tyrconnel, who with himself and Lauzun returned to the beleaguered city.

Six guns had been saved out of the wreck of the convoy and these were brought from Ballyneety. Another siege train arrived from Waterford, and infantry garrisons were stationed at Castleconnel and at Cullen in order to keep open communications with Dublin and Waterford, and to intimidate the troublesome rapparees. The way to the capital and to Waterford having been secured, the siege was conducted vigorously.⁴ On Sunday

¹ Clarke, *James II.*, 416; Story, 119; *Light to the Blind*, 630.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 54-55.

³ *Ibid.* 67-68, 380-381.

⁴ *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 101.

the 17th of August the trenches were opened, and soon forty guns were playing upon the city. The Irish were driven from an advanced redoubt in front of the south-east angle of the wall. In consequence the besiegers advanced their guns more closely. The author of *Macariae Excidium* describes the general character of the struggle. "Never," he writes, "was a town better attacked and better defended than the City of Paphos (*i.e.* Limerick). Theodore (*i.e.* William) left nothing unattempted that the art of war, the skill of a great Captain, and the valour of veteran soldiers could put into execution to gain the place; and the Cyrians (*i.e.* the Irish) omitted nothing that courage and constancy could practise to defend it. The continued assaults of the one, and the frequent sallies of the other, consumed a great many brave men of the army and garrison." Were it not for the peculiar interest attaching to the last struggle of a nation one might pass over the details of the siege and allow these words to stand for the general course of events.¹ Sarsfield had roused the people to a high degree of excitement, and this, in a curious way, became remarkably increased by the arrival of Baldearg Roe O'Donnel.² An old prophecy was quoted as saying that an O'Donnel with a red mark should free his country from the dominion of the English. As this Spanish exile possessed a red mark, to which he owed his name Baldearg, the people drew encouraging inferences, forgetting or ignoring the fact that a similar prophecy had been falsified at the siege of Derry.³ His presence certainly contributed in a powerful degree to stir up more fervently the enthusiasm of the inhabitants in defence of their town.

William was so anxious for the successful issue of the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 288: "At the action in taking the lower town a soldier who was an apprentice to a butcher here in Leadenhall Market had the courage before the King to go up to the very mouths of two cannon of the enemy's with a sword in one hand and a musket in the other and killed both the gunners. The other soldiers followed close after, beat the rest off and kept possession. For this his Majesty sent for him the next day and gave him 200 guineas and a captain's place."

² *Macariae Excidium*, p. 86; Clarke, ii. 434.

³ There was a prophecy current among the peasantry that a Clancarty should one day knock—of course, successfully—at the gates of Derry. Lord Clancarty knocked on June 28, but no gate was opened.

siege that he risked his life in the most hazardous fashion.¹ As on the eve of the battle of the Boyne the enemy paid him special attention. A French gunner deserted and showed the Irish the exact spot where the royal tent was pitched and the shot flew thither so thick and fast that the tent was removed. "The king," writes an eye-witness, "is almost all day long in the trenches and exposes his person on every occasion, as much as a private exposes, and is obliged to expose, his. A few days ago, a squadron of the enemy might easily have carried him off."² The presence of William inspired his men to make more heroic efforts.³ On the 20th of August he ordered an attack upon the strong redoubt close to John's Gate. Cutts's Grenadiers and the 18th Foot led the way. The Grenadiers threw in their grenades and, following their missiles, after a sharp struggle they mastered the fort. The Irish sallied forth to retake it and were repelled by the 6th Dragoon Guards and some French horse. The King witnessed the whole fight and was distressed to learn that he had 79 men killed and 192 wounded.⁴ There were over 300 of the Irish killed, and when they begged for quarter the soldiers replied that they should have just such quarter as the wagoners at Ballyneety received.⁵ One great advantage of the capture was that it enabled the besiegers to erect a battery nearer the walls; on the 24th of August their trenches were only twenty yards from the ditch of the town. Six batteries were now playing upon

¹ The Queen to the King, Aug. $\frac{5}{15}$, 1690; (*C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91), p. 88. "I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; 'that passage frights me.'" Carmarthen to the King, Aug. 12: "The Queen hopes you will be speedily at Dublin."

² *Notes and Queries*, Aug. 18, 1877.

³ Burnet, ii. 68-69.

⁴ Story; Mullenau; Clarke's *James II.*; *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 102, T.C.D.; *Mémoires de Dumont de Bostaquet*.

		Killed	Wounded
English Cavalry	. . .	21	52
English Infantry	. . .	58	140
	. . .	—	—
		79	192
English Horses	. . .	64	57

Boisseleau to Louvois, Limerick, Aug. $\frac{21}{31}$, 1690, Ministère de la Guerre.

⁵ Theo. Harrison to the Rev. J. Strype, Aug. 23, 1690, Dublin (*Ellis Correspondence*); *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 291.

the walls, and storms of shot, shell, and red-hot balls fell within Limerick. The ceaseless rain added to the discomforts of both besiegers and besieged, though the former suffered more, sickness in the camp having increased very seriously indeed.¹ The supply of ammunition was beginning to run short. It became evident, therefore, that the town must be stormed or the siege raised. At a council of war on the 25th it was decided to try the former alternative.² Brisk artillery fire was kept up on the wall near St. John's Gate, and a breach of thirty-six feet was made. It seemed practicable, and, in spite of the opposition of the Quartermaster-General de Cambon, an assault was ordered for Wednesday, the 27th of August. William commanded woolsacks and fascines to be conveyed to the trenches. To the Grenadiers General Douglas committed the post of honour. Behind them were the Scots Guards, the 9th and 18th Foot, Lisburn's Herefordshire regiment, Cutts's regiment, the Blue Dutch, a regiment of Brandenburgers, and the Danes. All were supported by a large force of cavalry. In the afternoon at half-past three the Grenadiers rushed from their trenches to the counterscarp and entered the breach. Under the fire of their muskets and the throwing of their grenades they dashed on, and the Irish fell back, vigorously pursued by the foe. Had the five hundred Grenadiers been properly supported Limerick must have fallen.

Unfortunately for the English the order of attack had been not to storm the city but to attack the counterscarp. If William had been on the spot he would not have hesitated

¹ The description of the siege by Corporal Trim seems to have been taken by Sterne from an old soldier who had been present: "We were scarce able to crawl out of our tents at the time the siege of Limerick was raised, and had it not been for the quantity of brandy we set fire to every night and the claret and cinnamon and geneva with which we plied ourselves, we had both left our lives in the trenches. . . . The city of Limerick, the siege of which was begun under His Majesty King William himself, lies in the middle of a develish wet swampy country; it is surrounded with the Shannon, and is by its situation one of the strongest fortified places in Ireland; it is all cut through with drains and bogs; and besides, there was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle; twas that and nothing else which brought on the flux. Now, there was no such thing after the first ten days, as for a soldier to lie dry in his tent, without cutting a ditch round it to draw off the water; nor was that enough for those who could afford it, without setting fire every night to a pewter dish full of brandy, which took off the damp of the air, and made the inside of the tent as warm as a stove."

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 115.

for a moment to change the order, but the precious opportunity was allowed to slip away. The supporting battalions did not follow the Grenadiers into the town, and when the Irish saw that the attack was not followed up they rallied and overpowered the gallant Grenadiers. Behind cover the Irish fight excellently, and they rarely fought better than now. As at Derry the women shared in the contest ; and with deadly effect pelted the assailants with stones and broken bottles. The other troops now came to the aid of the Grenadiers ; the Brandenburgers entered the terrible breach and were mounting the Black Battery when the magazine there blew up. They wavered, and Boisseleau, seizing the golden moment, charged with all his reserves. The murderous struggle of three hours' duration was over and Limerick was still untaken.¹ Five hundred English, including fifty officers, had been killed and about a thousand wounded. The Irish suffered severely but less than the besiegers—a circumstance which accorded with the general experience of siege operations already confirmed by the incidents of Derry.

On the 29th of August it rained incessantly.² At a council of war it was pointed out that the plague was on the increase, that ammunition was scanty, and that if the rains continued it would be impossible for the oxen to draw off the heavy guns. The officers had no desire to repeat the awful tragedy of Dundalk before Limerick. William saw the wisdom of the decision, and on Sunday the 31st of August he consented to the raising of the siege.³ As his men retreated Douglas again saw the phenomenon he had witnessed at Athlone. The Protestants, fearing to remain near Limerick, followed the army. As the citizens saw the last soldier pass over the hills to Cahirconlish they felt amazed at their good fortune. Like the men of Derry they did not pursue the

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 375-378.

² *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 116 : "I wish that the inclemency of the weather does not incommode the progress of the siege of Limerick."

³ *Berwick Memoirs*, i. 355 ; *Clarke*, ii. 415-418 ; *Story*, 37-39 ; *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91), 114-117 ; *Macariae Excidium*, 60-68, 364-374. Louis expressed strong approval of Boisseleau : "Vous avez travaillé là pour votre gloire particulière, et pour la gloire de la nation ; je vous brigadie."

besiegers because they felt too exhausted with their efforts. "The history of the first siege of Limerick," writes Macaulay, "bears, in some respects, a remarkable analogy to the history of the siege of Londonderry. The southern city was, like the northern city, the last asylum of a Church and of a nation. Both places were crowded by fugitives from all parts of Ireland. Both places appeared to men who had made a regular study of the art of war incapable of resisting an enemy. Both were, in the moment of extreme danger, abandoned by those commanders who should have defended them. Lauzun and Tyrconnel deserted Limerick as Cunningham and Lundy had deserted Londonderry. In both cases religious and patriotic enthusiasm struggled unassisted against great odds; and, in both cases, religious and patriotic enthusiasm did what veteran warriors had pronounced it absurd to attempt."

A few days after the raising of the siege William set out for England. When he landed in Ireland his prospects had seemed doubtful, for his rival commanded a fine army and owned a powerful ally in the French king. One battle had altered the situation of affairs, and, despite the reverse before the walls of Limerick, the issue no longer hung in the balance. William's heart must have swelled with triumph as his ship sailed from Waterford that September day. As the boatmen carried Caesar and his fortunes, so that vessel carried William and the cause of Louis's misfortunes. Events across the English Channel demanded his urgent attention, and at last he felt in a position to attend to them. His gift to his adopted country had been the supremacy of both Channels, and France was to feel bitterly in the days to come the change that had come over the control of the waves that washed her coast.

Before leaving William appointed the Count of Solmes as Commander-in-Chief and Lord Sidney, Viscount Sheppy, and Thomas Coningsby as Lords Justices of Ireland. The latter came from Dublin to pay the soldiers their arrears, and the sight of the effigy of their Majesties, even though

they were absent, restored the men to good humour. Fighting was over for the season, not only at Limerick but throughout the south-west. The army retired to its winter quarters.¹ The French were sent to Carlow, the Dutch and Danes to Clonmel, Cashel, and Waterford. Some of the latter force, under the Duke of Würtemberg and General Schravemoer, marched to Cork. A company of the Inniskillings occupied Birr Castle, and Sarsfield attempted to take it. General Kirke with the Blues, the 1st and 6th Dragoon Guards, Langston's Horse, the 3rd and some of the 6th Dragoons, the 2nd, 11th, and 18th Foot, as well as Cutts's, Lisburn's, Earle's and Drogheda's regiments came to its relief. Sarsfield, with some loss of prestige, was obliged to retire. His soldiers at Birr robbed and plundered friend and foe alike. Story notes that some of the colonels not only winked at this disgraceful robbery, but encouraged it because their own hands were not clean.² After the defence of Birr Solmes went to England, leaving Ginkell to act as Commander.³

When the five thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse under the Duke of Würtemberg and General Schravemoer were marching southwards they encountered near Mallow about three thousand rapparees, who suffered severely at their hands. The Williamites killed three hundred, and recovered some fine horses and many silver-hilted swords.⁴ The pages of Story bear convincing testimony to the annoyance inflicted by the rapparees upon the English. He narrates how, when they feared detection, they would sink down into the long grass, the standing corn, or other convenient cover, how they would dismount the locks of their pieces and stow them away in some dry

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 118-119, 124-126, 127; *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 179; Lanier: "Most of the forces are divided, and gone to their winter quarters." (Oct. 13.) Oct. 14 (f. 180): "I am sorry to find that you still date your letters from the camp; the season being so very far advanced that fine weather is not reasonably expected, especially in Ireland." On Oct. 14 (*Clarke Correspondence*, cf. 188 and 195) and Oct. 18 (f. 193) Ginkell orders the army to winter quarters. His writing—always difficult to read—is here almost undecipherable. He and Douglas are extremely bad writers. See Oct. 18 (f. 194).

² The *Clarke Correspondence* (L.C.D.) offers strong corroboration of these details.

³ Schomberg was proposed for the vacant post, but he was considered haughty. Ginkell, according to Hoffmann, was gentle and more beloved than he. Klopp, v. 268.

⁴ *London Gazette*, No. 2597.

spot or about their clothes, how they would then stop the muzzles of their pieces with corks, and the touch-holes with small quills, and then throw them away confidently into a pond or other equally secure place; "you may see a hundred of them without arms who look like the poorest, humblest slaves in the world, and you may search till you are weary before you find one gun; and yet when they have a mind to do mischief they can be all ready in an hour's warning." The main object of Würtemberg and Schravemoer in marching south was not, however, to check the rapparees, but to join an expedition under John Churchill against Cork.¹ The English had experienced serious discomfort during the siege of Limerick, because Cork and Kinsale remained in possession of the Irish. Ports on the south coast of Ireland formed convenient means of holding frequent communication with France.² From these harbours French privateers could safely issue in order to harass English trade, notably that with the West Indies. To these harbours no English ship could sail in time of need. Seeing the force of these reasons Churchill proposed that a descent upon Cork should be made.³ William, anxious to make his gift of the supremacy of the Channel as complete as possible, expressed his cordial approval of the scheme, and entrusted Churchill with its execution. The issue of the battle off Beachy Head had threatened to impeach William's naval supremacy, and he determined to strengthen his hold. Stormy weather and contrary winds delayed the sailing of the expedition from

¹ Ginkell explained to Marlborough his inability to send more troops (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.); *Luttrell's Diary*, Mar. 1690; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1689-90, pp. 430-431; *ibid.* 1690-91, pp. 118-119, 120-121.

² *Clarke Correspondence*, July 27, 1690 (T.C.D.); *Macariae Excidium*, 387-390; Kloppe, v. 290; *Works of Louis*, iv. 318.

³ *Clarke Correspondence*, Colonel Brewer to Clarke; The Queen to the King, Aug. 26, Sept. 5, 1690 (*C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91), pp. 106-107: "I am always thinking of your dangers, yet I must see company on my 'sett days,' I must play twice a week; nay I must laugh and talk though never so much against my will. I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me. If I look grave all is lost in the opinion of the world; the grace of God supports me. I go to Kensington as often as I can for air, but then I cannot be alone. Lord Marlborough went away this morning, and though I have little reason to care for his wife, yet I must pity her condition . . . and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight."

Portsmouth till the 16th of September, and it anchored on the west off the Cove of Cork. Unlike Limerick, the southern capital was to offer scarcely any resistance to Churchill. Tetteau speedily seized Shandon Castle and Schravemoer Gill Abbey.¹

When Churchill was joined by General Schravemoer and the Duke of Würtemberg the latter proved at first a somewhat troublesome colleague.² The tact that Marlborough displayed in after years in his dealings with another touchy German Prince, Louis of Baden, and with Charles XII. was now required to conciliate the Duke of Würtemberg. On the union of the forces on the 23rd of September 1690, the Duke insisted that because he was a sovereign prince he was unable to serve under a man of a rank lower than his own exalted degree, and must therefore have the supreme command. Churchill saw his way gracefully out of the difficulty by the expedient that he afterwards adopted in a similar case on the Continent. He agreed that each should be Commander-in-Chief on alternate days. On the first day that Churchill acted as such he gave "Würtemberg" as the password of the day. Not to be outdone in courtesy the following day the Duke gave "Marlborough."³ The two then worked in tolerable harmony, and the disputes that characterised the Irish leaders at Limerick were unknown among the English Generals at Cork. The Earl of Marlborough's forces comprised the 4th, 8th, and 13th Foot, his own regiment of the 7th Fusiliers, Fitzpatrick's Fusiliers, Hale's and Collier's Foot, and Lord Torrington's and Lord Pembroke's marine regiments.⁴ On the 23rd the trenches were dug and the batteries opened fire.⁵ Four days later the Irish withdrew from the Cat fort. The assault was so

¹ A full and true relation of the taking of Cork (Brit. Mus.).

² C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 111-112: "Mémoire pour mon cousin le Comte de Solmes." "The most important thing to do at present is to favour the Earl of Marlborough's attempts upon Cork and Kinsale, and to hinder, as much as possible, the enemy from making any large detachments."

³ Dalrymple, pt. ii. bk. v. vol. iii. p. 43; *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 151.

⁴ Royal Warrants, Apr. 14 and 22, 1690; Ordnance Papers; C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 109: Marlborough "finds the regiments from Ireland very weak."

⁵ W. Griffiths, *Villare Hibernicum, being an Exact Account* (London, 1690); Dean Davies's *Journal*.

vigorous and resistance was so hopeless that the garrison proposed to surrender.¹ The Williamites refused to allow them the terms they proposed, and consequently the attack was renewed. The cannon played upon the wall, and a breach became visible. At one o'clock on the afternoon of the 28th the Danes and the English forded the river and advanced towards the breach.² When the storming party arrived at the bank of the marsh the able Duke of Grafton, a nephew of James, fell mortally wounded. The *Salamander* and another ship sailed up with the rising tide and dropped shell and shot into the town. The Irish had but two small barrels of powder left and saw that there was no hope of further defence. To avoid the horrors of an assault the Governor, Colonel Rycat, and Lord Tyrone decided to negotiate. The terms arrived at were that the imprisoned Protestants should be released, that the garrison should become prisoners of war, and that the citizens should be disarmed and protected.³ The prisoners were no less than four thousand five hundred, including the two negotiators, the Earl of Clancarty and Colonel Macgillicuddy. Some soldiers and sailors plundered the inhabitants, though the Earl of Marlborough tried to check the practice.⁴ His attention was so distracted by other matters that he did not enforce the conditions of surrender as carefully as he ought to have done, for he had at once resolved to complete his conquest by holding Kinsale.⁵ Brigadier Villars with five hundred men went to demand its surrender from the Governor, Sir Edward Scott, a man of determination and foresight. Like the famous Governor of Charlemont, Scott threatened to hang the bearer of the message, to set fire to the village,

¹ Add. 29,878 (Brit. Mus.); Ensign Cramond's *Diary*.

² Schravemoer to Clarke, Sept. 29, 1690 (*Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 159, T.C.D.).

³ *Light to the Blind*, 642: The Governor "was forced to yeald the town, and the garrison, to be prisoners of warr, for want of powder: which the enemy knew the day before—a strange neglect in business of highest consequence; and an usual defect in the management of this warr, as I have often mentioned." *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 131-132.

⁴ Story, p. 143; *Macariae Excidium*, 82-83, 390-391; *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 167.

⁵ Marlborough to Clarke, Oct. 8, 1690 (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.); *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 171.

and to withdraw his men into the old fort.¹ The plan of burning the village was wise, for it would otherwise give shelter to the English, but he delayed too long in executing it. On the 5th of October the trenches were opened, and on the 9th the English approached the counterscarp.² Night and day shot and shell fell upon the besieged; two mines were sprung and a breach appeared. On the 20th of October the Earl of Marlborough himself arrived. General Tetteau, with eight hundred men, surprised the old fort, and out of a garrison of four hundred and fifty men two hundred were slain.³ The sturdy Scott still refused to give in; "it would be time enough to talk about that, a month hence."⁴ Preparations were being made to storm the place when the white flag was hung out; the garrison despaired of Berwick coming to their assistance. The twelve hundred soldiers were granted the right of marching out with their arms and baggage, and were safely conducted to Limerick.⁵ Large quantities of provisions were taken, a thousand barrels of wheat, forty tuns of claret, and a considerable amount of brandy and other liquors.⁶ The Kerry rapparees were so annoyed by the fall of the two towns that in spite of Tetteau's opposition, they burnt many villages in the counties of Cork and Limerick. With both Cork and Kinsale taken, the whole south coast belonged to the English, and the intercourse of the Irish with France was effectually hindered. All Munster, except Limerick, was lost to the Jacobites, and indirectly the capture of this town had been begun when the southern harbours passed into the hands of the English.⁷ Two things specially pleased the people

¹ Schravemoer to Clarke (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.).

² Add. 29,878 (Brit. Mus.).

³ *Macariae Excidium*, pp. 83, 393-395. "Nouvelles de la prise du Nouvelle Fort de Kingsale" (Brit. Mus.).

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.* xii. 7. 302: Scott "railed against the late King James for his ill-management of affairs and said that Limerick would not hold out till Christmas."

⁵ *London Gazette*, No. 2,601, 1690; *Clarke Correspondence*, Oct. 25, vol. ii. f. 200.

⁶ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 146: "We had played upon the fort for 3 days, with 8 pieces of cannon of 24 pounds and 2 mortars, and that the next day there would be 6 more ready to fire; the mine was also to be fired, so that in 2 days, it was hoped the breach would be big enough to be assaulted." *Clarke Correspondence*, iii. f. 225, 226, 227; iii. f. 275.

⁷ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 152: "Since the taking of Kinsale fort by their Majesties' forces, the Irish army of about 12,000 lies hovering about the Shannon, makes

in England when they heard of the Earl of Marlborough's speedy conquest.¹ One was that the towns were taken when the season for campaigning was supposed to be closed. The other was that the triumph had been achieved by an English General. Though William had done so much for his adopted country, yet its people showed no great love either for himself or for his Generals. Within three weeks one of their own countrymen had captured two important harbours and had not sustained a single reverse. They cordially agreed with William when he declared : "No officer living who has seen so little service as my Lord Marlborough is so fit for great commands."²

The fall of Cork and Kinsale delighted Tyrconnel and Lauzun more than the raising of the siege of Limerick. They both thought the cause of James was utterly hopeless. The French General was wearied with the hardships of rainy Ireland, and longed for the delights of sunny France. James informed the Dublin corporation, after his flight from the field of the Boyne, that the warning he had received that the Irish never acquitted themselves well on a field of battle was true. Lauzun held the same opinion of the troops he commanded, and this view was shared by both the Duke and the Duchess of Tyrconnel. James and the Duchess in person, Lauzun and Tyrconnel by means of despatches, impressed upon Louis that the Irish were cowards, instancing as a proof the conduct of their infantry at the Boyne. Moved by these complaints Louis ordered his troops in Ireland to be recalled. During the progress of the siege of Limerick and the Earl of Marlborough's expedition to the south the French troops remained in Galway waiting for ships to return home. The success, however, of the Irish at Limerick proved clearly that under competent generalship they could fight. Sarsfield pleaded, therefore, that the new situation demanded retention of the troops, and that if the French Government

several incursions into our quarters for subsistence and burns all the small villages near us in King's County, and . . . County Cork."

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 154.

² Burnet, ii. 60 ; Clarke, ii. 419-420 ; Story ; *London Gazette*, Oct. 6, 13, 16, 27, 30, 1690.

really understood the position of affairs the order of recall would be countermanded. Lauzun and Tyrconnel did not, however, wait for fresh despatches, but embarked with the men at Galway.¹ On his arrival in France Lauzun corroborated the details furnished in his letters home, but when the Court heard of the gallant defence of Limerick they were by no means willing to give credence to the tales. He further reported that Ireland was as good as lost, that most of the nation were willing to submit to the Prince of Orange, and that the handful of men who defended Limerick were influenced entirely by Tyrconnel, to whose conduct and courage it was due that the country had held out so long.² Louis could not believe that all his hopes of a prolonged resistance in Ireland were doomed to such a painful disappointment. What he had the will to believe, he believed. Tyrconnel had been detained at Brest by an illness—whether diplomatic or otherwise, it is now hard to ascertain—and when he arrived in Paris he quickly felt that the atmosphere was not congenial. Trimming his sails to the breeze of the moment he told a story that surprised his fellow-voyagers.³ He said that affairs in Ireland were in a bad condition no doubt ; that the troops there were likely to have many hardships to endure throughout the winter and spring ; still he was satisfied that they were strong enough to hold out against the English if supported by France.⁴ The French and the Irish soldiers, he added, did not agree very well together ; the only request, therefore, he had to make was that a supply of good officers should be sent from France, along with fresh stores of clothing, ammunition, and arms. Louis and Louvois had never liked Lauzun, and when they heard Tyrconnel their dislike deepened. He was disgraced and, but for the solicitations of James, he would have ended his days

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 380-381, gives Tyrconnel's reasons for sailing.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 100 : "Letters from Paris say that Count Lauzun, after quitting Limerick, sent thither an account of the condition of Ireland and desired directions how to dispose of the troops ; on which a Council was called and it 'was resolved not to send any,' believing the game there to be lost."

³ *Macariae Excidium*, 383 ; Clarke, ii. 432-433.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 71-72, 75-79, 381-382.

in that home of fallen favourites, the Bastille.¹ Louvois, seeing his enemy in disfavour, was this time the more willing to exert himself vigorously for James. He persuaded Louis to send arms and money and, but for his untimely death, he would have done a great deal more for Ireland.²

Before sailing from France with his supplies Tyrconnel appointed Berwick as Commander-in-Chief, with instructions to consult twelve leading officers of whom Sarsfield was one. Public opinion compelled him to include the man he heartily disliked, but he placed his name last on the list. Civil affairs were controlled by a like council of twelve, many of whom had lost their estates by the action of James's Irish Parliament. They were therefore suspected of not being whole-hearted in their devotion to the Irish cause. The old Irish conceived that the Anglo-Irish wanted to come to an agreement with the English. They wanted to maintain the recent settlement of the land question while the Anglo-Irish welcomed the old. In the end the war of principles became one of persons, and the partisans of Sarsfield hated the partisans of Tyrconnel. This, of course, meant trouble with France, because—for the moment, at least—Tyrconnel had the ear of Louis. A strong, masterful mind might have held both parties in control, but the youthful Duke of Berwick—he was but twenty years of age—was unable to quell the faction fights.³ Dissatisfaction with Tyrconnel's arrangements reached such a height that a meeting of the nobility, bishops, lawyers, and leading officers was held at Limerick on the 20th of September 1690.⁴ They determined that the government of the Duke of Berwick was not legal since he was not King, Viceroy or Lord-Deputy, and the ancient laws of Ireland recognised no supreme officer save these three. A deputation, therefore, approached the Duke to inform him that the authority he held from

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 383-384; cf. 360-361.

² *Ibid.* 382-383.

³ Avaux persistently under-rates Berwick; Avaux to Louis, Oct. $\frac{15}{25}$, 1689; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 90-91.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 83-89, 395; Clarke, ii. 421.

Tyrconnel was illegal, and asked him to govern in accordance with a select council of persons to be chosen by the army. They likewise proposed to send agents to the King to acquaint him with their resolve. The new military council was to consist of all the general officers. The civil council was to be composed of the twelve already constituted by Tyrconnel in addition to two bishops and eight noblemen selected from the four provinces. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. Creagh, Colonels Henry and Simon Luttrell, Purcell and Macclesfield, and Brigadier Maxwell were to form the deputation to France.¹ All present agreed that Louis should be asked to send men and arms, and that an important French General should become generalissimo in order to compel the obedience of the Irish and the Anglo-Irish. At first Berwick refused to entertain their proposals, but at length a hollow agreement by way of compromise was patched up. Brigadier Maxwell advised the Duke to pursue the course proposed and to send with the deputation to France a secret agent of his own explaining the Anglo-Irish standpoint. Berwick, imitating the example of Tyrconnel, gave secret instructions to Maxwell to secure the detention of Henry Luttrell and Purcell. They, suspecting Maxwell's designs, were with difficulty restrained by Dr. Creagh from throwing him overboard on the voyage.² Maxwell, also imitating the example of Tyrconnel, gave his own version of the facts, and his gloss was accepted. The consequence was that the other members of the deputation were looked upon as mutineers, and would have been imprisoned had it not been for the effects such a treatment might have had upon the Irish.³ Finding that their views of Tyrconnel's policy did not commend themselves to James or his Queen, they pointed out the determination of the Irish not to yield, and the translation of this determination into practical life before the walls of Limerick. Without being aware of it, they showed strange insight into the precise motives

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 85-90, 395-396; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 88-90.

² Clarke, ii. 422; *Macariae Excidium*, 395-396; *Berwick Memoirs*, i. 361-362.

³ *Macariae Excidium*, 396-397.

of Louis's policy of interference in Ireland, for they explained that they could with ease oppose William for another year, and therefore they could prevent his taking any considerable part in foreign politics. Even so eminent a master of statecraft as the magnificent Louis must have been astonished at their penetration. When they proceeded to demonstrate that the cause of France was the cause of Ireland, he must have wondered. He also felt gravely perplexed as to what policy he ought to pursue. One of the penalties of double-dealing is that it makes the double-dealer intensely suspicious. Louis knew that he was using Ireland as a pawn in the Spanish game, and it began to dawn upon him that perhaps the Irish in turn might use him as a pawn in their game. He therefore hesitated, for he felt afraid that if the Irish won they would neither restore James nor rejoin France. Still, unwilling to break with them—for they still might be useful—he said he would give them an experienced Commander.¹ This was St. Ruth. Moreover, he promised to despatch to them whatever aid their new Commander might deem necessary.²

Tyrconnel's two new councils in Ireland did not prove successful in ruling the island, a task that has taxed the resources of better brains than theirs. Berwick was an extremely young man, and his shoulders could not bear the heavy burdens placed upon them. Sarsfield saw the dangers of the new system, and tried to avoid some of them. He, however, overlooked the truth in the dictum that when the head of a department busies himself too much with detail there is something wrong. He occupied himself so much with minor matters that he had no time left in which to carry out his proper work. The army assumed all the kingly rights of purveyance and requisitioned corn, cattle, butter, tallow, linen, wool, or whatever else they required. Sarsfield was too good-natured to stop this pillage; "He was so easy," writes O'Kelly, "that he could not refuse to sign any paper that

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 90-95, 396-398; Clarke, ii. 422-425.

² Cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 155, 159.

was brought before him." He did not realise, as a Commander like the Duke of Wellington realised, the effects of the habit of plunder on the morale of an army.

On the 14th of January 1691, Tyrconnel arrived from France. Accompanying him were Sir Richard Nagle and Sir Stephen Rice who were, by James's orders, entrusted with the civil administration. James had also appointed them colleagues of Tyrconnel in the Government. The fleet consisted of three frigates and nine other vessels bringing provisions, clothes, arms, ammunition, and eight thousand pounds, but no men.¹ Sarsfield was created Earl of Lucan and was given the commission of a Lieutenant-General. Dorrington was made a Major-General, and Barker General of the foot. Berwick was recalled to France, Lieutenant-General St. Ruth being given his place, and Marechaux-de-Camp D'Usson and de Tessé accompanied him.² The few remaining garrisons, having had their stores replenished and their defences overhauled, were themselves inspected and reorganised.³

The Irish were dissatisfied that instead of troops merely a few lawyers came with the expedition. The absence of men seemed to show that Tyrconnel still wanted to make a treaty with the English and that they thought that the lawyers had come to engross parchment. They were not pleased to find that on arrival he released his friends, Lord Riverstown and Denis Daly the lawyer, who had been imprisoned at Galway on the charge of desiring to make terms with the English.⁴ Moreover, he ordained that no one should leave the country without his permission, and that all persons coming from France to Ireland must be rigidly searched in order to ascertain if they brought any letters with them.⁵ Tyrconnel aimed—in true Stuart and Bourbon fashion—at a censorship of the press of those days. In order to convince the Irish of his zeal he issued a proclamation

¹ James's notes show that only as much help was being sent from France as sufficed to keep the fire of war smouldering. Cf. Clarke, *James II.*, ii. 460.

² Clarke, *James II.*, ii. 422-423; *Mémoires de Berwick*.

³ Clarke, *James II.*, ii. 433, 451; Story.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 102, 106, 407-408, 410-412.

⁵ *Ibid.* 413, 414-415.

inviting English soldiers to desert, offering a reward to each man who so acted, and promising to send them to France if they so desired. The bribes proved tempting to some, and James afterwards asserted that if Tyrconnel had had plenty of money, a third of the Williamites would have deserted.¹ In order to prove to the Irish that harmony was more or less restored, he went to Galway to Sarsfield. The winter of 1689 in Dublin was repeated in Galway in 1691; balls and banquets were the order of the day.² Talleyrand remarked of the Congress of Vienna that it danced but never advanced a step. Tyrconnel and Sarsfield likewise danced but never advanced a step towards a reconciliation either in private or in public life.

The Viceroy had made few preparations for the coming contest. The new Commander endeavoured to make up for lost time, but he found he had come to a land where time is not a particularly valuable article.³ He was supposed to understand the Irish, for he had commanded regiments of their countrymen in France.⁴ Moreover, he had fought against the Camisards, and therefore, like Hoche, was assumed to comprehend warfare of the kind he probably would encounter in Ireland. In the Cevennes he had been known as the scourge of the heretics, and in Ireland he might flog them too.⁵ Of undoubted courage and activity, he possessed many qualities requisite for a commander. He lacked some the Irish peculiarly valued, his stern nature neither inviting nor giving a confidence. He was hampered by the fact that Tyrconnel was his superior officer, and he did not brook control.⁶ In a proclamation of the 15th of May 1691, Tyrconnel directed all the rapparees in Connaught to join the army without delay, and the General himself issued orders to his

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 116, 418; Clarke, ii. 435-437.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 113, 415-416.

³ On St. Ruth there are the reports of the Imperial envoys in London, and at the King's headquarters, besides the original notes to these reports.

⁴ *Macariae Excidium*, 233-234.

⁵ Smiles, p. 38; *Macariae Excidium*, 134-135; *Clarke Correspondence*, iii. f. 245; St. Ruth "a furious enemy to Protestantism."

⁶ *Macariae Excidium*, 119-120, 420-421; Clarke, ii. 439-440; cf. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 80, 97, 99, 100, 103-104.

men to drive with them all the cattle of private owners found on the line of march, to enable him to maintain his soldiers. Tyrconnel had not taken care to provide sufficient boats to convey stores from Athlone to Limerick.¹ St. Ruth was disgusted when he was informed that only six boats were available for this work.² Neither water carriage nor land carriage was effective, and the delay in forwarding supplies prevented the Irish army taking the field early.

While the Irish Government was organising its forces beyond the Shannon, the English Government was gathering together its forces on the other side of the river. About the middle of September the Lords Justices left the camp, and returned to Dublin. They were crippled in the same way as the twelve civil administrators in Limerick, for neither body could take any share in the control of the army. The Mutiny Act had just been passed, but notwithstanding this measure it proved extremely difficult to control the licence of the men. When an ordinary man steals his act does not incite many other men to commit such a deed, but when a soldier steals, at once his example becomes contagious. The Lords Justices were well aware of this, but were equally well aware that no very exceptional powers had been lodged in their hands in order to curb this licence. The soldiers took advantage of their comparative immunity and plundered on all sides, sparing neither friend nor foe.³ The Lords Justices at Dublin were engaged in hearing complaints from the soldiers that their pay was in arrears, and from the settlers that they were being robbed. Colonel Wolseley declared that his troops robbed all without distinction to such an extent that he

¹ Burnet, ii. 78; *Macariae Excidium*, 417; cf. Clarke, ii. 438-440.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 114-117.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 154; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book I., p. 200. Nottingham to Ginkell: "The King has received complaints of very great disorders and spoils committed by the officers, as well as the soldiers of the army in Ireland, to the oppression of his subjects, in taking away cattle, stock, and goods, both of protestants and of such papists as have submitted; he would therefore have you take all possible care to prevent such disorders or spoils for the future." *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 155; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book I., pp. 200-201. Nottingham to Douglas, complaining of the disorders of him and his officers. The like letters were sent to Kirke and Lanier. Kirke replied, *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 161. Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, vol. ii. f. 117, 128, 140; vol. iii. f. 257; *Macariae Excidium*, 399; Dalrymple, pt. ii. bk. v. vol. iii. 48-49.

was ashamed to speak of it. He excused them only because there was a lack of provisions ; if there had been no such want, this wise disciplinarian, like Wellington, declared he would hang them to the last man. Much as the settlers disliked the Dutch they were forced to admit that they were the least guilty, while the English and the Danes were almost equally guilty, and upon a large scale. No doubt the men were paid irregularly, and this must be a plea of extenuation. As the Lords Justices paid them regularly the pillage diminished, though it never completely disappeared.¹ Coningsby, one of the Lords Justices, enclosed a proclamation to restrain the men, and complained to Clarke, the Secretary, that " Sir John Lanier had given orders to secure all people who carried any commodities out of the country for six miles round his quarters, and that his officers at Trim had placed guards upon all the high roads, and other goods of the poor country people passing to any market out of his allotment." ² The proclamation forbade officers and soldiers in the English army to plunder, or to take horses or any other cattle out of the plough against the will of the owner, or to exact or levy money from their Majesties' subjects. The need for the proclamation was evidenced by the fact that Colonel Columbine burned all the corn from Nenagh to the Shannon ; another force destroyed all the houses from Clonmel to Limerick.³ On the 4th of February 1691, General Ginkell issued a declaration stating that their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, had no desire to oppress their Roman Catholic subjects, either in regard to property or religion, and that they had authorised him to grant reasonable and easy terms to all who would consent to lay down their arms and to live at peace. In this declaration the Irish discerned signs of weakness, deeming it to signify that the English, conscious of their small force, were willing to treat with them.

Ginkell, however, like a wise commander, was steadily increasing his resources. Day after day men and means

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-71, p. 145 ; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book I., p. 197.

² *Clarke Correspondence* (T.C.D.) ; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 130-131, 142-143.

³ Story, 53-54.

came from England : all the troops received new clothing, and depots of transport and supplies were formed at Mullingar and Belturbet.¹ A train of artillery, on a scale hitherto unknown, was also made ready at Dublin.² This train was composed of thirty-nine pieces of cannon, six mortars, and twelve field-pieces, along with five hundred draught horses. On the 14th of March 1691, Mary consented to an attack upon Athlone as a preliminary to the capture of Limerick.³ To Mullingar, therefore, large supplies of stores were being steadily sent. Nothing was wanting save horses. Schravemoer thought that the severity of the winter would prove fatal to the garrons, but this opinion turned out to be incorrect.⁴ The Irish were equal to the English in horse and dragoons and superior to them in infantry. Lieutenant-General Schravemoer, Major-General Mackay, and Ruvigny went to Mullingar. Mackay, fearing a repetition of Sarsfield's exploit at Ballyneety, augmented the guards and patrols in order to afford adequate protection to the vast military stores collected there. Ginkell, fearing that the inhabitants were corresponding with the enemy, expelled them from the town, and obliged them to sleep in the open air.⁵ He made this important town his headquarters, and in May he opened the campaign. Sir Martin Beckman, who had made his reputation in Tangier, came to act as chief engineer. Douglas brought down the troops from their winter quarters in the north, Würtemberg gathered the foreign regiments at Thurles, the great siege train came from Dublin, and all these were to rendezvous at Banagher. Würtemberg was appointed General of the infantry, and Schravemoer of the cavalry. Major-General Mackay had come from Scotland, where he had won fame at Killiecrankie ; with him were associated Generals Ruvigny and Talmash. Mackay, Ruvigny, and Talmash occupied in the coming campaign the places filled in the preceding by Douglas, Kirke, and Lanier. Lanier had been blamed

¹ *Clarke Correspondence*, lii. 271, 285.

² *Story*, 58, 71-72, 77-80.

³ On Athlone the authorities are Kane, Mackay, *Macariae Excidium*, Parker, and *Story*. Cf. the *London Gazette*.

⁴ *Clarke Correspondence*, iii. 284.

⁵ *Story*, 68.

for carelessness in his pursuit of Sarsfield at Ballyneety, Douglas and Kirke disliked one another as much as Sarsfield did Tyrconnel. The farmers made complaints against the three Generals and Ginkell superseded them.

On the 30th of May Ginkell joined his army at Mullingar. Dressed in their new uniform, the troops presented a fine appearance, rejoicing the soldierly heart of their General.¹ Mackay afterwards testified that he had never seen an army whose leader and common soldiers, though composed of four or five nationalities, lived in greater harmony with each other. Among the officers, he says, there may occasionally have been some differences of opinion as to the best means of reaching some desirable end; but when a measure was once adopted, whether by the decision of the Commander-in-Chief or by a plurality of voices, each officer strove as earnestly to carry it out as if the plan adopted had been his own.² Herein lies the secret of the success of the English and of the failure of the Irish.

The experience of Douglas at Athlone in the previous year discouraged Ginkell from attempting the capture of this town, but his council of war thought the plan worth trying. When St. Ruth perceived his design, he marched with twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse from Loughrea towards Athlone, and encamped at Ballinasloe. In order to supply the deficiency of horses a curious trick was employed. The gentlemen volunteers throughout Connaught were asked to appear mounted at Limerick. They all came, expecting to receive some mark of favour from the King. When they paraded on King's Island they were, to their astonishment, ordered to dismount, and to hand over their steeds for the use of the King.

On leaving Mullingar for Athlone the English found their way barred at Ballymore by a strong garrison of Irish.³ The village lies about half-way between these two

¹ *An Exact Journal of the Victorious Progress of their Majesties' Forces under the Command of General Ginkell this Summer in Ireland, 1691.*

² Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

³ On Ballymore the authorities are Harris, Parker, and Story. Ulick Burke to Ginkell, June 11, 1691 (*Clarke Correspondence*).

towns and its fort gave it some small importance. It was defended by about a thousand men under Colonel Ulick Bourke with only two cannon, which were Turkish pieces mounted on cart-wheels. After a brave display of resistance the garrison surrendered on the 8th of June.¹ Its capture cost St. Ruth one of his best regiments, for the men were sent to Lambay. In order to preserve his line of communication Ginkell fortified and garrisoned Ballymore, leaving Colonel Toby Purcell in command. As the English approached the neutral ground lying between their own territory and that occupied by the Irish they saw some of the horrors of war. When the Irish fell back on the banks of the Shannon as their defence, the English found they had many old men, women, and children to feed. Captain Parker, a competent eye-witness, narrates how the Irish had, during the winter, sent all their people useless for war over to the English side of the Shannon, either to die or live as best they could. The English naturally could not afford to feed this multitude of hungry beings. These wretches, driven by hunger, crowded around the new camp, devouring everything they could meet with, and gathering up the refuse thrown away by the soldiers in order to allay the cravings of nature. "Our dead horses," Parker tells us, "crawling with vermin, as the sun had parched them, were delicious to them; while their infants sucked those carcasses with as much eagerness as if they were at their mothers' breasts."²

Despite these horrors, Ginkell crept steadily on towards Athlone. On the 18th of June Würtemberg and Count Nassau joined his eleven thousand men with seven thousand additional. Mackay warmly counselled this union, holding it possible that the Irish might attack them when divided. In Würtemberg's contingent was the Marquis de la Forest. He stated that a French engineer, who had laboured the year before at the fortifications of Athlone, informed him that on the east side of the river there were heights which overlooked the town, and that there was a ford below, near the bridge, over which he had often seen

Clarke, *James II.*, 452.

² Parker's *Memoirs*, p. 25.

SIEGE OF ATHLONE

1691.

EXPLANATIONS.

- A The Stone Bridge
- B The Castle
- C Irish Batteries
- D Irish Entrenchments
- E Barracks
- F British Batteries
- G The Breach
- H British Entrenchments
- K The Pontoon Bridge
- L The Ford



soldiers passing. The receipt of this valuable news made the council of war determined to attack Athlone. When Douglas had ventured to besiege it the preceding year, English Town had been deserted and burnt. In the interval no attempt had been made to strengthen it, though in Irish Town earthworks had been raised without the walls.¹ The Marquis d'Usson and the Chevalier Tessé commanded the garrison. Tetteau advanced and drove the enemy's scouts to Irish Town. A battery was immediately erected north-west of English Town, and another was planted beneath it by the river-side, while a third was placed over against the Dublin gate. Light twenty-four pounders were mounted, and under Mackay's direction they opened fire. A breach appeared in the north-west bastion, and the council of war resolved to storm the place that evening. The storming party of three hundred Grenadiers was at five in the afternoon to advance along a paved way. Brigadier Stuart and Prince Frederick with two battalions of his own regiment, the 9th Foot, were to support the grenadiers, and Stuart in turn was to be supported by two hundred foot and the regiments of Brewer, the 12th Foot, and Count Nassau. Mackay gave clear orders and watched how they were carried out. The Irish immediately began firing, but the assailants reserved their fire until they were upon the enemy. Brigadier Stuart gave the grenadiers vigorous support, and the other regiments did likewise. The Irish forsook the breach and ran towards the bridge, with the storming party in close pursuit; they chased them to the draw-bridge, and in their flight some of the fugitives were crushed to death.² A few escaped by the shallow ford below the bridge. English Town was now in possession of the English, and the cost of securing it was not heavy.³ Their loss was twenty killed and forty wounded. Only one officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Kirke, fell, and he,

¹ *Macariae Excidium*.

² Compare the parallel incident at the second siege of Limerick.

³ *Diary of the Siege of Athlone, by an Engineer of the Army, a Witness of the Action*

1691; Fumeron to Louvois, ^{June 28}
July 8, 1691.

curiously enough, was not fighting but viewing the fight from the side of a hill. It is probable that if the English had followed up their triumph they might have captured Irish Town also. The lack of artillery horses, however, hindered the heavy cannon, the pontoons, the ammunition, and the provisions being there in time. There were few troops across the river, and the Irish army were still encamped at Ballinasloe, some twelve miles beyond Athlone. The taking of the town was delayed, and might have been delayed indefinitely had it not been, Mackay remarks, "for that manifest providence which makes up for all defects."¹

Ginkell immediately threw up entrenchments at the foot of the bridge to prevent the surprise of English Town, and fresh batteries were mounted within it. As soon as St. Ruth heard the news of the capture of English Town he marched towards Athlone with fifteen hundred men, and pitched his camp about two miles away. The defenders were relieved by fresh battalions from the camp, and the cavalry conveyed fascines to the town in order to fill up the breaches made by the enemy. St. Ruth was as deficient in transport as Ginkell, and neither could do much to defend or to attack the position. Ginkell found considerable trouble in securing provisions for his men; but he at least was in sole command while the imperious St. Ruth suffered cruelly from the interference of Tyrconnel. Sarsfield and his followers felt more bitterly indignant than ever against the Viceroy.

On the 22nd of June the new batteries in English Town commenced a lively cannonade against the north-east side of the Castle, and that night this whole side was battered down. The same day Colonel Wolseley arrived from Ballymore with cannon, mortars, floats, and pontoons escorted by the Blues and the 6th Dragoon Guards. Shot and shell, powder and provisions, were arriving every day from the depots at Mullingar. As the tin-boats, floats, and pontoons were insufficient to convey the army across the rapid river, the Shannon was

¹ Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

minutely examined in order to discover a ford. Somewhat over a mile above Athlone, in the Lanesborough direction, one was discovered, and a lieutenant of horse was despatched to reconnoitre it, with positive orders to return the moment he had tested the ford by crossing it. The English infantry might then pass over and attack the entrenchments, co-operating with those who were attempting the passage of the bridge. Mackay did not quite approve of the plan ; he thought it more perilous than to attempt the passage opposite to the town.¹ The latter, at the worst, could only end in a repulse, whereas the former might result in a very serious loss of either of the detachments. The indiscretion of the lieutenant, however, settled the knotty point effectually. He forded the river and espied a large herd of black cattle. Recollecting that meat was much wanted in camp, he carried them off, thus showing St. Ruth that the ford was known. St. Ruth in a few hours erected earthworks and a battery commanding the passage ; he also established a chain of communication between it and his camp. Colonel O'Reilly was ordered to resist to the utmost all attempts to cross, and Lord Antrim's regiment was stationed close at hand to support him. It is easy to speculate in *if's*. Yet if the lieutenant had obeyed his orders, no battle of Aughrim and no second siege of Limerick need have taken place. He was court-martialled and cashiered, but the results of his indiscretion were irreparable. This incident confirms the truth of Napoleon's view that war is made up of accidents.

From the 24th to the 28th the guns kept up an unceasing fire. A fierce struggle now ensued for the possession of the bridge, and the Irish gallantly disputed the attempts to capture it.² The English gained ground literally only inch by inch. Upon the bridge stood an old mill-house, and the grenades of the besiegers fired it with the result that out of a garrison of sixty-two, sixty were burned alive before they could escape. Under this

¹ Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

² Story, 94-98 ; *Macariae Excidium*, 419-420.

precious bridge lay a dry arch. When searching for plunder there, one of Lisburn's regiment saw a pair of colours clenched in the hands of a man who had doubtless courageously defended them in life. The soldier unfurled his trophies and the Irish fired upon him, but he escaped and his General gave him five guineas for his curious capture.

Each side erected fresh batteries, and the contest to gain possession of the bridge became more and more vigorous. The carelessness of the lieutenant had made the crossing by the upper ford impossible, and therefore all attention was now concentrated upon the bridge. Arch by arch the English crept along till by the night of the 26th of June the whole bridge, save one broken arch on the Connaught side, belonged to them. As the arches were taken they were repaired in order that the storming party might have an easy passage. The Irish put forth their utmost efforts to retake the captured arches, but in vain. Inch by inch they fought to regain them, and inch by inch they were beaten back. The bridge was so narrow that a few determined men might hold it against a large army. St. Ruth saw this and expressed his wonder that so experienced a commander as Ginkell should persist in his design. "His master should hang him for trying to take Athlone, and mine ought to hang me if I lose it."¹ Ginkell, however, persisted in his resolution and the Irish firmly held their ground. The French officers were compelled to admit that they had never seen more grim determination, and that the Irish were as brave as lions.² Ginkell saw that his attempt to cross by the bridge was wellnigh hopeless, and he thought of other devices. He might build a bridge of boats, but the men constructing it would be exposed to the guns of the enemy. He might

¹ Story; *Macariae Excidium*, 420; *Light to the Blind*. St. Ruth and the French officers believed that it was impossible to force the river. *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 97-98. Contrast Goltz, 383: "In war, nothing rational must be considered impossible as long as it has not been tested; and we may dare everything we believe we can carry out." *Ibid.* 261: "The defence of rivers . . . has hardly ever been successful for any length of time. Neither the Danube nor the Rhine has stopped armies. . . . A river, like a mountain, is an insurmountable impediment which is invariably surmounted." Cf. Hamley, *Operations of War*, pt. v. ch. iii.

² *Rawdon Papers*, 346-348.

attempt to pass the ford, but the enemy would be on the look out. In fact, to all the alternative schemes came the inevitable "but." He was reluctantly driven to the conclusion that he must take the stone bridge : the two broken arches were repaired, though the constant fire forbade the mending of the last. All the attention of the English was bestowed upon the ruined arches. On the night of the 26th of June they possessed the stone bridge save the one arch nearest the Connaught side, which the Jacobites had smashed. On the evening of the following day the breastworks of fascines erected by the Irish at their end of the bridge were set on fire by the grenades thrown into them. There now remained the task of spanning the chasm that yawned between that end of the stone bridge and the broken arches. That night the English laid planks across the opening. The Irish at once perceived the grave danger that now threatened them. At all costs the planks must be removed. On Sunday morning, the 28th, from Brigadier Maxwell's Scotch regiment a sergeant and ten men volunteered to don armour in order to destroy the beams. The eleven dauntless soldiers grasped their axes and saws, and boldly advanced. On both banks of the river there came a deep hush, the hush of amazement and admiration. The cannon fired, the musket-shot rattled, and the hand grenades fell. When the smoke cleared away the eleven lay in the silence of death, but their work in part was done. Such heroism is contagious. Eleven others rushed forward to complete the task. Plank after plank was torn up and flung into the waters of the Shannon. Man after man fell amidst the ruthless rain of shot and shell, but the survivors gallantly persisted. The last plank was at length flung into the river. Eleven set out, but only two of the noble band returned.¹ The poet sings :

With weeping and with laughter
Still is the story told,
How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old.

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 423-424 ; *Story*, 102-103.

But the courage and self-devotion of these twenty-two men have been almost forgotten. Their very names are unknown. Yet surely their fame ought not to be allowed to perish. They shed their life's blood in defence of the trust committed to their charge ; and their example should remain an undying inspiration for succeeding generations to sentiments of daring and devotion, and to deeds of self-sacrifice and valour in the service of their country. The Irish are indeed a strange race. Perhaps no people think more and speak more of "famous men and our fathers that begat us" and of their noble works, but rarely does the thought take a tangible form. No monument marks the site where the Irish hero and the Irish thinker repose. The graves of a patriot like Owen Roe O'Neill and of a statesman like Archbishop King—to take widely different examples—are unknown. The thrill that an Englishman feels in Westminster Abbey when he enters the presence of the mighty dead is denied an Irishman, for he has not taken care of the dust of his immortals.

Napoleon remarked of the English at Waterloo that he had beaten them though they did not seem to know it. Ginkell too had been beaten but he was unaware of it. He was endowed with all the perseverance and doggedness of the race whose forces he was commanding. He determined to build a close gallery, and under its cover the workmen might span the last arch. Again he meditated on the enormous difficulties that barred the passage of the bridge, and he began to reconsider his alternatives. The ford below the bridge now loomed large in his thoughts. The Shannon lay unusually low, for the summer had been dry, and he therefore resolved to ascertain to what extent it was fordable. At that time three Danish soldiers lay under sentence of death for military offences. They were promised their lives if they discovered the ford could be passed over by a man on foot.¹ They plunged into the river at some distance from each other. Their comrades pretended to fire at them,

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 427 ; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, p. 429.

but the bullets flew over their heads. While the enemy were thus deceived, Ginkell possessed ocular evidence that the deepest part of the stream merely reached a man's waist. The general officers, Würtemberg, Tetteau, and Ruvigny, all — save Mackay — advised an assault, and Major-General Talmash urged that it should be made at once.

St. Ruth perceived that Ginkell had relaxed his efforts to gain the bridge, and he began to suspect that his adversary was meditating a forcible entry through Irish Town. In case this should be the new design, he commanded M. de Suzon on the evening of the 29th to level the rampart there in order to permit troops from his camp to march rapidly to the defence of the town.¹ Unfortunately for the Jacobites, M. de Suzon did not possess the sense of the importance of time owned by St. Ruth, and he delayed a day in executing the order. Ginkell ordered that on the 30th an endeavour to pass the river should be made at three places simultaneously.² The stone bridge, the floats and pontoons, and the ford furnished the three ways. At six in the morning a storming party was waiting, each man having fifteen rounds of ammunition. In an unforeseen fashion the plan broke down. While the pontoons were being launched the grenadiers on opposite sides of the ruined arch began in sport to throw grenades at one another. While they were amusing themselves, the Irish set on fire some fascines near them. In an instant the blaze shot up and the whole breast-

¹ *Jacobite Narrative*, 131; *Macariae Excidium*, 121-122, 425; Clarke, ii. 455. Brigadier Kane remarks: "Here the old proverb was verified, that security dwells next door to ruin. Saint-Ruth thought it impossible for us to pass the river before he could be down with the army, and it is most certain nothing but neglect of their duty (by the officers) was the occasion of it; for they, seeing their general secure in himself, thought all was safe, which made them neglect keeping their men strictly to their duty, and having a vigilant eye on us. Had they done thus, it would have been impossible for us to march, but they might easily see us from the castle, and give timely notice to their general, which would have prevented what followed. The great oversight St. Ruth committed in leaving the works on the back part of the town standing, was the only motive that induced our general to pass the Shannon at this place." Captain Parker agrees: "Had he (*i.e.* St. Ruth) destroyed these works, we should never have been able to defend the town against the whole army, especially as the castle, which still held out, was crowded with men; for though we had battered down that face of it which lay to the water, yet the other parts remained entire, and had a number of men in them."

² *Macariae Excidium*, 122, 426-427.

work was crackling with heat. Another breastwork was speedily erected, but it was now twelve o'clock and St. Ruth easily divined their intention. Ginkell had lost all the advantages of an early morning attack and he held a council of war.¹ The troops withdrew, and the Irish Commander assumed that he had no more to fear that day. He went to his camp in order, so the story runs, to prepare a dinner for the ladies and gentlemen he had invited. De Suzon, the Commander of Irish Town, did not demolish the ramparts. When his three regiments saw the retreat of the English his sentinels became less watchful than usual. The English were still holding their council of war, when two Irish officers asked to see Ginkell, informing him that the present was his time for action, that the Irish felt quite secure, for St. Ruth was near them and they thought the English were therefore quite unable to cross, and that three of the worst regiments in the Irish army were at that very moment on guard. Ginkell wanted Talmash to lead the attack. It was, however, Mackay's turn to command, and he refused to give way.² Major-General Tetteau and the Prince of Hesse accompanied the obstinate Scotch Commander. Talmash came too as a simple volunteer in the advance party commanded by Colonel Gustavus Hamilton of the 20th Foot. The assault was ordered for six o'clock that same evening, the usual hour for the relief of the guards. That summer day, instead of the measured tramp of a few sentries coming to succeed their comrades, there marched down to the trenches about two thousand troops, consisting of forty-three men from the grenadier companies and eighty-three picked soldiers from the battalion companies of every regiment, each detachment having with it three captains, six subalterns, and seven sergeants. To every man was served out fifteen rounds of ammunition and, as at the Boyne, all carried ready to place in their hats a green bough as the sign of battle. At six the angelus bell rang and the attack began. The English batteries covered

¹ *Diary of the Siege of Athlone; Exact Journal; Story; Mackay.* On Councils of War, cf. Goltz, 64. Frederick the Great forbade his Generals to hold such councils.

² Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

the advance of the attacking party. Colonel Gustavus Hamilton led the assailants, followed by the Prince of Hesse. Surprised by the unexpected movement, the enemy saw the English well across the ford in a line of twenty abreast before they grasped the situation. A second body waited at the bridge, and a third lay ready near the pontoons now being laid. Impetuously the ford was passed and the ramparts scaled. As Mackay entered the breach Brigadier Maxwell at once gave up his sword. Leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Columbine with two hundred fusiliers of the 6th Foot to hold the castle in check, the stormers hastened to the bridge—this time from the Connaught side. The planks fell on the broken third arch, and the British troops poured over.¹ Their onward rush was so impeded by the masonry and rubbish thrown down by their own guns that they began to curse and swear. Their General heard, and amid the din of the assault his Puritan training asserted itself. "My lads," he spoke, "you are brave fellows, but do not swear. We have more reason to thank God for the goodness which He has shown us this day than to take His name in vain."²

So well was the surprise carried out that at half-past six the English had gained complete possession of the town.³ Half an hour's fighting had saved the Irish from complete destruction at the Boyne almost exactly a year ago, and half an hour's fight now achieved their ruin at Athlone. When the Irish saw the first soldier breast the ford they acquainted St. Ruth. He replied that "the thing was impossible ; that the English would not attack a town at such a disadvantage, when he was near with his army to succour it ; and that he would give a thousand pistoles to see them make the attempt." Napoleon disliked "that beast of a word, impossible,"

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 129-130 ; Story, 106-110 ; *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91), 132-134.

² Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

³ Burnet, ii. 78-79 ; *Diary of the Siege of Athlone ; Exact Account ; Macariae Excidium*, 421 ; Story ; Fumeron to Louvois, ^{June 30} July 10, 1691 ; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, i. 97-98 ; Clarke, ii. 453-454 ; *Memoirs of Captain Parker*, 25 ; *Roxodon Papers*, 344-347, 349.

and well would it have been for his countryman if he had shared that dislike. He despatched men too late, and when they approached the town they found themselves unable to enter, for de Suzon had not demolished the ramparts. For once St. Ruth and Tyrconnel had agreed when they ordered the demolition of these fortifications, but their orders had not been carried out. When the Irish arrived at Athlone they saw their own gates shut in their faces, the drawbridge raised, and their own guns fired upon them. Instead of being the besieged they were the besiegers, and they did not relish the transformation.¹ The news was carried to the amazed General. "Taken!" St. Ruth exclaimed; "it cannot be! A town taken, and I close by with an army to relieve it!" The impossibility of six o'clock became the possibility, then the certainty, of half-past six. Nothing remained for St. Ruth but to retreat.² Early the next morning he silently withdrew, leaving the castle in the hands of Captain Wauchope and his five hundred men. When Wauchope learnt of his General's retreat he at once submitted. Captain Parker writes of this surrender: "Here I had a narrow escape of my life. A stone which had been thrown from the top of the castle as I passed under it, fell on my shoulder; the effects of which I feel to this day, on every change of weather. This, indeed, I deserved for being so fool-hardy as to put myself on this command when it was not my turn; but it was a warning to me ever after. It is an old maxim in war, that he who goes as far as he is commanded is a good man, but he that goes farther is a fool."

At the cost of twelve killed and thirty wounded, Athlone had fallen.³ The tame contest in Irish Town contrasts strangely with the heroic struggle at the stone bridge. Of course the element of surprise counted enormously in the success of the final assault. For a force of two thousand men to make an attack, to ford a rapid

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 428.

² Clarke, ii. 455; Story; Fumeron to Louvois, June 30, July 10, 1691.

³ During this siege of eleven days the English had, according to Story, fired away 12,000 cannon balls, 600 bombs, and nearly 50 tons of powder, besides a great many tons of stones discharged from mortars.

river, and to capture a fortified town in the face of a large army was a marvellous feat. Six brass guns, two mortars, twenty barrels of powder, and large quantities of provisions were taken. The peasants flocked in large numbers to the camp seeking letters of protection, and these were given them on condition that they promised henceforth to live as loyal subjects of King William and Queen Mary. Deserters also came in greater numbers than before. The small garrisons guarding the fords of the Shannon saw their occupation gone by the fall of Athlone, and consequently they rejoined the Irish army. The end of the struggle now seemed to be within reasonable distance. Louis's hopes of abundant employment in Ireland for William were becoming fainter and fainter. For the way now lay open to Connaught where the last stand must take place.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST STAND

PROSPERITY, Bacon tells us, is the blessing of the Old Testament and adversity that of the New. Some races belong to the Old Testament dispensation, for prosperity brings out their better qualities. Others belong to the New Testament order, for adversity strengthens their fibre. The Irish most emphatically are an Old Testament nation ; they are indeed able because they seem to be able. One of them spoke not for himself but for his whole race when he said, "I am a tolerably good man, but if God had been pleased to send me more prosperity I should be an infinitely better man." They had prospered the first year of the war, and the *morale* of the army had been consequently high. In the second year they had not done so well, and the conduct of their infantry at the battle of the Boyne told its own tale, so that he who ran might read, but their first successes at Athlone and Limerick again raised their too volatile spirits.¹ They began the third year with some measure of confidence, and the effects were manifest in their magnificent defence of Athlone. But when the town fell the tone changed. Rumours of treachery were bruited abroad. Old dissensions, covered up for the time, once more broke out. The ancient quarrel between the Irish Jacobite and the English, the feud between the Tyrconnelites and the Sarsfieldites, awoke once more. In Irish life almost everything is concrete, nothing abstract. Loyalty is no more than a name if the people do not meet the monarch. A

¹ Boisseleau points out the ebb and flow of courage among the Irish.

principle must be set forth by a person, and the more attractive the person the stronger the hold of the principle. Herein lie the strength and weakness of the Irish character. The principles of the English Jacobites and those of the Irish Jacobites meant to an ordinary Irishman that Tyrconnel held one view of a given policy while Sarsfield maintained another. Inevitably the strife between principles became one between parties. Baldearg O'Donnel's men were willing to fight under him against their own language and their own religion when he joined the English.¹ A colonel in the Irish army expressed the Irish personal attitude characteristically. "The King," he said, "is nothing to me. I obey Sarsfield ; let Sarsfield tell me to stab any man in the whole army and I will do it."² Tyrconnel and St. Ruth naturally felt afraid to call such a powerful rival into their counsels, and when they wanted advice Sarsfield was persistently ignored. On the other hand, when Mackay held his council of war that memorable 30th of June, his advice was opposed, and he loyally abode by the decision of the majority. He saw that most of the general officers were convinced of the wisdom of attempting an assault, and he ceased to oppose their plan. Tyrconnel felt to Sarsfield as the king of old felt to Micaiah the son of Imlah when he encountered the persistent opposition of the prophet. When Sarsfield urged a plan against Tyrconnel the latter believed the opposition was personal. The scheme could not be wise because the hated Sarsfield was its author. With such divisions at home, divisions and disasters abroad were sure to follow. Of course the fall of Athlone did not lessen the recriminations.

The French commander had lost the town, and as he had been more or less identified, perhaps unjustly, with the faction of Tyrconnel, the latter forfeited still more of his already dwindling popularity. It was said that Tyrconnel's friend, Brigadier Maxwell, had an understanding with Ginkell, and it was further rumoured that Lieutenant-Colonel Connel ordered the Viceroy to leave.³

¹ Clarke, *James II.* ii. 460.

² *Ibid.* ii. 464 ; Story.

³ *Macariae Excidium ; Light to the Blind.*

Tyrconnel set out for Limerick, but before leaving St. Ruth felt the weight of his hand, for he ordered the dilatory de Suzon to assume command at Galway, in place of the arrogant Baldearg O'Donnel. Even this sensible proceeding exposed Tyrconnel to censure. A Frenchman had been placed over an Irishman with vast influence over the minds of the peasants. On his arrival at Limerick he hastened his secretary to St. Germain's, in order to relate to James the right interpretation of events. The Irish, however, insisted that the messenger should carry the additional tidings that St. Ruth, Sarsfield, and the old Irish were now all conspiring to follow a course which was sure to result in the downfall of the Jacobite ascendancy.

St. Ruth, when he decamped from Athlone, marched to Miltown, and then to Ballinasloe. Here he held a council of war, and opinions were divided, whether to defend the passage of the river Suck or to retire on Limerick. St. Ruth and the French officers inclined to the former view, for he longed to fight in order to hide the disgraceful fall of Athlone.¹ He knew the fate of his predecessor, Lauzun, and he shrank from it. At any moment he, too, might be recalled, and he did not like the thought of going to the Court at Versailles. The hostile silence of the courtiers, the shrug of the shoulders of the great King, and the frown of his brow, he dreaded. He was resolved to conquer or to die. Sarsfield and the majority of the council advised a retreat to Limerick. They thought that the counsel of St. Ruth was too hazardous, for he was risking their all in a single encounter. Consequently, they were of opinion that Galway and Limerick ought to be garrisoned, for they thought the Irish fought better behind walls than in the open. This would provide sufficient work for Ginkell till French assistance should arrive. Meanwhile the Irish could make raids in Munster and Leinster, or could blockade Ginkell

¹ Clarke, ii. 454-455; *Macariae Excidium*, 433-434; *Light to the Blind*, 679. "Tyrconnel would not now lay the kingdom upon a single battle, having heard of such a design; but he would make a defensive and dilatory war in expectation to be superior the next year by succours out of France." *Macariae Excidium*, 434-439, gives Sarsfield's weighty reasons, and discusses the number of the troops. Israel Fielding to Clarke, July 18, 1691; *Clarke Correspondence*.

in Athlone. The best Russian generals were General January and General February, and the best Irish generals, they pointed out, were General Rain and General Disease. For a time St. Ruth consented to yield to the decision of the majority, but finally he determined to fight. Leaving the fords of the Suck undefended, he retired to a fine position near Ballinasloe, called Kilcommodon Hill.

In the meantime Ginkell tried to repair the damage inflicted on Athlone by his own cannon. The houses were restored in order that they might serve as store-houses for munitions of war. The defence was improved, and Colonel Lloyd was left with his own regiment, the 5th Foot, and with the 1st Foot in charge of the town. Proud as William felt of the victory he wanted to see the end of the war. On the 7th of July 1691, therefore, the Lords Justices at Dublin issued a proclamation in the name of their Majesties, offering a free pardon to all rebels who, within three weeks of the date of issue, should come in and surrender their arms; stating that if any persons residing in the city of Limerick or in the town of Galway should be instrumental in delivering up these places to their Majesties, they would obtain a free pardon for all their treasons, and would be restored to the possession of their forfeited estates; that military, rendering this or similar service, would be rewarded and admitted to equal rank in the English army; and that all who should take advantage of the present offer would receive security that, so far as the influence of their Majesties could prevail in Parliament, they would not be disturbed on account of their religion.¹ The Government meant well, but the Irish, then as so often since, interpreted the concessions as signs of weakness. The settlers did not favour the appearance of the proclamation, for they considered that it treated the Roman Catholics too generously. Moreover, it contained no hint that the Government embraced the doctrine of the spoils to the victors. This proclamation has, however, a deep historical importance, for it contained in germ the Treaty of Limerick.

¹ Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, iii. 286.

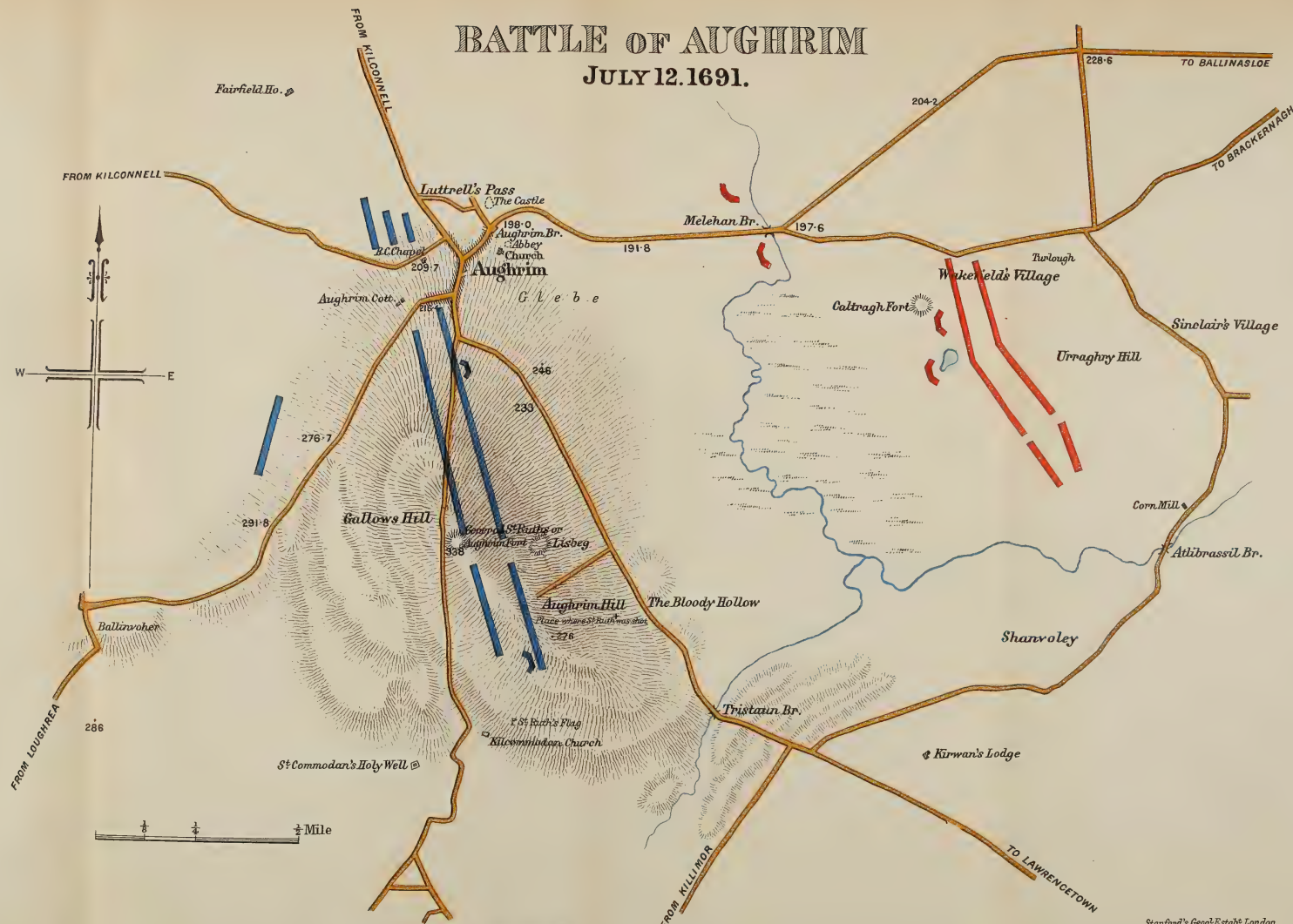
The day that saw the issue of this proclamation from Dublin Castle witnessed the passing of the Shannon by the main body of the English. On the 10th they marched as far as Kilcashel, and on the following day they passed through Ballinasloe and their van took possession of the heights of Corbally, commanding an extensive view of the enemy's position. The Irish occupied the ridge of a hill, extending for about two miles on the other side of Aughrim.¹ A mile south of Aughrim stands Kilcommodon Church, and a hill slopes gently from it; about half-way between Aughrim and Kilcommodon it reaches its greatest height of about four hundred feet, descending more abruptly at the Kilcommodon end. Nearest the highest part of the hill lie two ancient Danish forts. On this hill St. Ruth made his last stand, and his selection was not unwise. To the north of it stretched a red bog for a mile, so covering the Irish left as to preclude any possibility of attack on that side. At this side also stood the castle of Aughrim, commanding the road from Ballinasloe; the castle, like so many Irish castles, was an old ruin with walls and ditches around it. In front extended another bog, quite impassable, except at each end of the ridge. Beyond it rose the hill of Urrachree, running almost parallel to the hill of Aughrim. Between the two hills a stream, meandering through the valley, left the ground too soft for cavalry to use, and even infantry could only use the foot-tracks. These tracks resembled that road of historic fame in Virginia on which the Federal officer, reconnoitring it, observed that the road was there, but he "guessed the bottom had fallen out." To the south side of the hill of Aughrim lay the Irish right. Here, however, the troops were somewhat exposed, as the bogs were more firm and of less extent. St. Ruth's left then rested on the Castle of Aughrim, his right at Urrachree, and his centre on Kilcommodon hill.² The only parts suitable for cavalry were the Ballinasloe road and the Urrachree road.

When Ginkell saw the strength of the Irish position:

¹ See the accompanying map.

² Story, 121-122; *Macariae Excidium*, 439-441.

JULY 12. 1691.



London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

Stanford's Geog^y Estab^t, London.

he hesitated for a time.¹ "If," said Frederick the Great, "we had exact information of our enemy's dispositions, we should beat him every time"; but such information is never available. Accordingly, the commander called a council of war; the rash Talmash and the cautious Mackay both encouraged him to proceed. On Saturday the 11th of July both sides prepared for the coming fray. Late that evening orders were issued in the English camp for an advance against the enemy next morning. The baggage was to be left behind under a guard of two regiments, every company was to turn out as strong as possible, with arms fixed and ammunition in pouch. Five pioneers were to march at the head of each regiment in readiness to act in unison, and the grenadiers were to be on either wing of their corps, with two grenades for each man. They brought with them twelve field-pieces, while the Jacobites possessed few of these valuable weapons. At six o'clock on Sunday morning the troops marched out of Ballinasloe—the infantry over the bridge, the English and French cavalry by the ford above the town, and the Dutch and Danish cavalry by that below the town.² So far as the uneven ground permitted the men formed into a double line of battle. The strength of the two armies was fairly even.³ Ginkell possessed some slight numerical

¹ For Aughrim the authorities are Kane, Mackay, Parker, Story, *Macariae Excidium, Jacobite Narrative*, 138. Ginkell did not intend to fight at once, Klopp, v. 304.

² Two of the regiments mentioned in the line of battle were left behind at Ballinasloe: perhaps these were the Twenty-second and Lisburn's. Yet from Mackay's *Memoirs*, and the lists of casualties (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.), it would seem that the Twenty-second was present.

³ The list of the English army gives the following numbers, reckoning the cavalry regiments at 300 and the infantry at 550, their effective strength, and allowing for two regiments of English and two of foreigners for the protection of the camp:—

English—Horse	.	.	6 regts. at	} 300 = 2700	10,950
Dragoons	.	.	3 " "		
Foot	.	.	15 " "		
				550 = 8250	
				—	
Foreigners—Horse	}	.	12 " "	300 = 3600	
Dragoons		.	.	8 " "	550 = 4400
Foot		.	.		—
					8,000
					19,000 (circa)

Story says that Ginkell had only 17,000. He thinks that the Irish had the advantage of 1000 men, but possibly he means the strength of their position was as good as 1000 men extra. Elsewhere he writes that they had 20,000 foot and 5000 horse. According to *Macariae Excidium* they had 10,000 foot and 4000 horse. "The truth is," writes

advantage, but this was counterbalanced by the fact that he was the attacking party.

Early as the English had been astir the Irish had been earlier still. St. Ruth, having staked his future on the issue of the day, had done all in his power to ensure a favourable result ; for down among the bogs of Aughrim he might retrieve the errors of Athlone, and thus hope yet again to sun himself in the favouring smile of his gracious sovereign. He was harsh and imperious by nature, but now he bent his haughty will to win the hearts of the Irish. Like Cromwell he tried to give a religious character to the fray. He had beaten the heretics of "the white shirts," and he had resolved to discomfit those of the pale. Masses were said, and heartfelt prayers were uttered for the success of the Irish. Nor was the use of sermons disdained ; the priests exhorted their hearers to fight for home and fatherland. According to Story, St. Ruth addressed his officers in this strain.¹ They were fighting, he said, for their religion, their liberty, and their honour. Unhappy events, too widely celebrated, had brought a reproach on the national character. Irish soldiership was everywhere mentioned with a sneer. If they wished to retrieve the fame of their country, this was the time and this the place.

We read the speech and we can well believe that at such a time even the cold St. Ruth was moved to utter words like these. But when Story tells us in all gravity that he promised them canonisation if only they fought well, and that he spoke of James as the most pious of Christian kings, we pause in wonder at the credulity of the chaplain. But we are certain that the Irish had determined to make a bold stand against the Williamites. St. Ruth's right wing was under de Tessé, the second in command ; at the centre the infantry were under Dorrington and Hamilton, and the cavalry under Galmoy ; and the left was under Shelden.² Two guns were placed at the castle

Col. Henderson (i. 259), "that in war, accurate intelligence, especially when two armies are in close contact, is exceedingly difficult to obtain."

¹ Story, 123-125 ; Burnet, ii. 79.

² *Jacobite Narrative*, 274, gives the order of battle.

of Aughrim, and three on the slope of the hill at the left centre. Behind the hill Sarsfield was stationed, with the cavalry reserves, with strict injunctions not to move without orders. The post given him shows how the judgment of St. Ruth was warped by his jealous feelings towards his rival.

It was a misty summer morning, and the fog did not clear away till noon. When it lifted, the two armies were face to face, one on the hill of Aughrim, and the other on the hill of Urrachree. Ginkell ordered some Danes, about three or four in the afternoon, to take possession of Urrachree, but the Irish repelled them. Two hundred of the 6th Inniskillings and Eppinger's dragoons dismounted and went to their assistance. The Irish cavalry behaved as gallantly as at the battle of the Boyne, and the fight became fast and furious. The Irish right wing reinforced their cavalry, and Portland's Horse and two of the Duke of Würtemberg's battalions reinforced the English. The outpost fight now assumed the dimensions of a miniature battle.¹ Both sides held their own ground, and then for a time fighting ceased. The real key to the Irish position lay on their left, as the far-sighted Mackay perceived. Ginkell called a council of war and at first it was arranged to postpone the attack. But it was pointed out that the Irish were probably disordered by the skirmish of the afternoon and that they might slip away in the night, and indefinitely lengthen the campaign. Mackay aimed at a vigorous diversion of the enemy's right flank and right centre, with the design of facilitating the really important attack on his left.² This plan possessed the merits of weakening the Jacobite strength at Aughrim, where the troops were most numerous, and of giving the Williamites a marked advantage when the time came for their right to encounter the left.

At five the battle was resumed.³ The English left wing advanced by the pass of Urrachree, against the Irish right. The Irish as stoutly defended as the English

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 132, 442-444; Story, 134-135; Clarke, ii. 457.

² Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

³ *Macariae Excidium*, 444-449.

vigorously assailed. For two hours the fight raged between them ; volley after volley was fired, and the Irish slowly moved back. They refused to retreat till the muzzles of the Williamite muskets touched their breasts. During this time the English right and centre were mere spectators. St. Ruth, seeing the fierce assault upon Urrachree, ordered men to leave Aughrim for it. Mackay had been waiting for this opportunity, and it had been given him. Discerning the weakened left and the weakened centre, he ordered his infantry to cross the bog. At half-past six the attack on the centre was delivered.¹ The 12th, 19th, 23rd, and Creighton's regiments, supported by the 9th and Ffoulks', marched thigh deep in soft bog, which they were not to pass until the infantry to the right were over the wide part and until the cavalry had forced the road to Aughrim Castle. Mackay meant these men to hinder the enemy from using their cavalry on the right wing. Despite the galling fire they drove the marksmen from behind the hedges, and in their eagerness, forgetting their orders, they hotly pursued the Irish till they reached their main line. The Irish cavalry rushed down the slope and their fierce charge drove the foe into the bog ; the loss was so great that to this day the spot where the English broke is known as "the bloody hollow."²

The 27th Inniskillings, the 18th, St. John's, Lord George Hamilton's, and the French foot advanced along the right. Not a shot was fired, till they were within twenty yards of the hedge. A sudden blaze of matches and the click of the firelocks revealed the Irish, and huge gaps in the ranks bore eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of their fire. The cavalry rode down and the regiments were obliged to retreat. The results, so far, were that the English left was checked, the centre repulsed, and the right had done nothing. "The day is ours, my boys," St. Ruth exulted. "We will drive them before us to the walls of Dublin."³ But he spoke too soon. Once when Napoleon seemed to be in the predicament of

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 445.

² Story.

³ *Light to the Blind*, 689.

Ginkell he muttered that though he had lost one battle there was time to gain another. The shades of evening were falling fast, still Ginkell, too, had time to win another.

The right English wing made a determined onset on Aughrim Castle in order to gain it and to help their infantry of the right centre. The road to this ruin was narrow, for but two horse could ride abreast. The Blues struggled through the slippery soil under a deadly fire. The glass fell from St. Ruth's eye as he saw their advance. "What on earth could they mean by it?" he asked in amazement.¹ As he watched their struggles he exclaimed, "By Heaven, they are gallant fellows; and it is quite a pity that they should thus court death." When he saw them lay down hurdles on the morass he repeated the saying ascribed to the Maréchal de Créquy, "*Que plus il en passerait, plus il en battrait.*"² Ruvigny's French Horse, the 6th Dragoon Guards, the 3rd Dragoons, and Langston's Horse followed the gallant Blues. The British infantry on the right renewed their efforts to hold their ground when they saw this splendid cavalry advance. The advantage was at last seen of Mackay's plan. The Irish cavalry had to meet the British infantry of the right centre and the British cavalry of the right wing, and the combined effort proved too much for them. Ruvigny's cavalry delivered a magnificent charge, and swept the enemy away.³ St. Ruth, even at this critical moment, did not lay aside his jealousy of Sarsfield. This general was ordered to send half his cavalry, but to remain with the other half. They were to meet the English squadron that had just passed the morass. St. Ruth hastened to put himself at their head. Turning to give a gunner an order a cannon ball struck him and he fell dead.⁴ He died almost in the hour of victory, almost with the shout of triumph ringing in his ears. The fortunes of war, long trembling in the balance, at last fell decisively to the British. With the death of St. Ruth died many of the

¹ Story.² Berwick.³ *Macariae Excidium*, 452-453.⁴ Mackay; *Macariae Excidium*. The latter says the death happened "about sunset," 453.

hopes of the French monarch. For had the general won many of the plans of his master might have been executed. Sarsfield stopped in ignorance behind the hill till the fight was practically over. Galmoy tried to make a stand, but another charge of Ruvigny's cavalry proved irresistible. Mackay saw the left Irish wing completely broken, and the centre gave way. The bloodiest and most fiercely contested battle of the war was almost over. The English horse and dragoons pursued the flying foe, and turned their flight into a disastrous rout. The darkness of the night saved some of the fugitives, but many perished.¹ The English were enraged at hearing that an Irish officer had ordered all the prisoners to be massacred, and that Colonel Herbert and other officers had thus died. The victory was crushing, and decided that the campaign must be soon over. The English captured nine cannon, all the tents, baggage, and field equipage of the enemy, also eleven standards and thirty-two colours, which were presented to Queen Mary. That Sunday's work had been bloody, for between three o'clock and dusk some eight or ten thousand men were laid low. The loss on the English side amounted to at least one thousand killed and twelve hundred wounded.² The Irish probably lost seven thousand killed and wounded, for, as Ginkell wrote to William, the fight "was very obstinate."³

Three days after the battle, when many of the slain had been buried and the remainder plundered by the camp-followers and peasants, Story surveyed the ground. Looking from the top of a hill he could see the naked bodies of the men, and they seemed to him like sheep dotted over the pastures and bogs.⁴ This historian makes an interesting comparison of the fighting qualities of English soldiers compared with those of other nations. Of course he possessed ample opportunities for making

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 132-133, 442-461; Story, 123-137.

² Parker gives 3000 killed and wounded as Ginkell's loss, Kane gives 4000, while the official lists (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.) give 2200.

³ Story, 138-141, reckons the Irish lost 7000 killed, Parker reckons 4000 killed and 2000 captured, and Kane reckons 17,000. Cf. *Macariae Excidium*, 454-457; *C.S.P.*,

Dom., 1690-91, pp. 444-445.

⁴ Cf. Clarke, ii. 456-458.

such a comparison, as his army was remarkably cosmopolitan. Just as Stevens censures the Irish officers, so he blames the English. He notes their helpless indolence in the most essential points of campaigning, their insular self-satisfaction, and unreadiness to learn from their more experienced allies. On the whole, however, he bestows hearty praise upon the English soldier. In this battle he mentions that the Londoners of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Dragoon Guards, the Gloucester men of the 9th, the Suffolk men of the 12th, and the Devon and Cornwall men of the 19th and 20th, the Cheshire men of the 22nd, Lisburn's Herefordshire men, the Welshmen of the 23rd, Lord George Hamilton's Scotchmen, St. John's Derry men, the Inniskillings of the 27th, and the 5th and 6th Dragoons were all present. "They marched boldly up to their old ground again from whence they had been lately beaten : which is only natural to Englishmen : for it is observable that they are commonly fiercer and bolder after being repulsed than before : and what blunts the courage of all other nations commonly whets theirs, I mean the killing of their fellow-soldiers before their faces."¹

Courageously as the English had attacked the hill, the Irish had defended it as perhaps they had never defended a position before.² Their cavalry performed as wonderful deeds there as at the field of the Boyne a twelvemonth before. But Mackay's clever plan and Ruvigny's splendid charge proved too much for them. Mackay notes that if the Derry and Inniskilling regiments, who attacked the castle,

¹ Story; Add. 36,296 (Brit. Mus.). Curiously enough, Stevens's *Journal* breaks off in the middle of a description of the battle of Aghrim. At the end (p. 128) is an "account of his Majesty's royall camp near Dundalk, Fryday, June 19, 1690."

² I. 6, 10 (*Southwell Correspondence*, T.C.D.). Letter from the Right Hon. Richard Cox, Governor of Cork, giving an account of the campaign, Oct. 8, 1691. "As for the battle of Aghrim there was nothing more strange in it than that the enemy made a braver resistance than they were wont, to which, nevertheless, they were encouraged by the situation of the place, and the strength of their entrenchments. And after all they found more security in the darkness of the night than either in their fortifications or their valour, so that if the battle had begun two hours sooner, that day had made an end of the war, and as it was, their loss was exceedingly great, viz., one general, three major-generals, seven brigadiers, twenty-two colonels, seventeen lieutenant-colonels, and about seven thousand private soldiers.

"The consequence of this great victory was the surrender of Limerick. The King and Queen of England will weaken all they can this rebel generation by methods honest and discreet, without making it a war of religion."

had not kept firm until the Blues had time to pass the defile and join them in the attack, the English centre, then beaten, could not have recovered its ground, and the battle would have been lost.¹ The Battle of Aughrim shows what so many other contests prove, that a battle is never won till the last shot is fired. Till the horse advanced towards the castle the laurels of the day remained with St. Ruth, and everything then pointed to the fact that the shades of night would see him crowned with victory. No doubt the Irish suffered a grievous loss by his death during the fight. A general paralysis characterised their movements when the truth became known. His unexpected end proved a turning-point in the issue of the day. "Never," writes O'Kelly, "was a general better beloved by any army, and no captain was ever fonder of his soldiers than he. . . . From that hour they (*i.e.* the Irish) never thrived, nor attempted anything that was great and glorious. Among the secondary causes of the defeat must be placed the fact that their ammunition had run short. When the fresh supply came it was evident that the bullets had been cast much too small for the calibre of the muskets. Colonel Burke, who defended Aughrim Castle, was therefore compelled to use the buttons from the coats of his men and to chop up his ramrods for bullets. So complete was the victory that the Irish were quite unable to retire in order. The ruling idea of each man was to get to Limerick with a vague notion that the last stand might be made there."²

Irish garrisons had been stationed at Portumna and Banagher to guard the passes of the Shannon, but they now surrendered to Brigadier Eppinger. He permitted them to march out with their arms and baggage, and they went on to Limerick. On the news of the defeat at Aughrim some soldiers deserted their outposts and hastened to the same destination. Others came to camp, surrendered their arms, and claimed the benefit of the Government proclamation.

On the 16th of July Ginkell marched through Lough-

¹ Add. 33,264 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Macariae Excidium*, 450-451.

rea, *en route* for Galway. Its garrison consisted of seven poor regiments under D'Usson and Lord Dillon. The former was Governor of the town and the latter the General in charge. An Irish officer offered to Ginkell to surrender an outwork, and assured him that there were only fifteen hundred armed men in the town. When Ginkell summoned the Governor to yield, he replied that he intended to defend the place to the last. His words sounded determined, but they were nothing but empty sound. The siege began. After the capture of the outworks, an action in which Talmash "would needs go as a volunteer, as he usually did when it was not his turn to command," Galway surrendered on the 21st with the honours of war. The soldiers were allowed to march to Limerick leaving the town "with their arms, six pieces of cannon, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, and bullet in mouth." The townsmen, then submitting to the English Governor, might live as peaceable subjects, would be pardoned for the part they had taken in the war, and would be permitted the free exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property as settled in the reign of Charles II.¹ Ginkell granted these terms because he wanted to hurry down to Limerick before the season for campaigning ceased. He left behind him Sir Henry Bellasis as Governor with his own regiment, the 22nd Foot, and the 12th and 23rd regiments for a garrison. O'Kelly hints that not only was there treachery on the part of the Irish officer at Galway, but that D'Usson and Lord Dillon were also concerned in it. D'Usson was the friend of the Viceroy's and Dillon was his nephew; these facts afford a sufficient explanation, he thinks, of the weak defence. O'Kelly regrets that Baldearg O'Donnel

¹ Story, 151-174; *Macariae Excidium*, 137-141, 462-466; Clarke, ii. 459; Burnet, ii. 95; *Jacobite Narrative*, 152. Hoffmann, Aug. 3: "The latter condition (*i.e.* that Roman Catholics could hold civic office) displeased the English ministers. They blame Ginkell for his leniency. And certainly the town would not have received this condition from an English general" (Klopp, v. 303). When he made such a concession he must have been sure of the King's consent beforehand. In other words, he acted according to his instructions which directed him as far as in him lay to set aside every pretext for a war of religions. Burnet says expressly that Ginkell received secret orders from the King to consent to everything if only the war in Ireland might be brought to an end. Letter, July 20, 1691 (*Clarke Correspondence*).

made terms with Ginkell and became "unhappily joined with the sworn enemies of his country."¹ In order to encourage other Irish leaders to lay down their arms Ginkell on the 11th of August issued a proclamation extending for another ten days the time of surrender allowed by the lords justices and making them similar promises on similar conditions.²

On the 28th the army set out for the south. They advanced by Athenry, Loughrea, and Eyrecourt to Banagher Bridge, where the Royal Dragoons joined them. At Nenagh they were compelled to halt four days because of lack of bread. The Commissary-General had arrived with a large convoy before they began their southward journey, but he stood in urgent need of more transport animals. The lessons of 1690 and of 1691 had been taught in vain. The Commissariat did not even yet possess an adequate transport train at its sole disposal. Nenagh was only seventy miles from its base of supplies and its frontier of depots, and yet necessities were not forthcoming. When Ginkell complained, "most of the nobility and gentry furnished him with their coach horses"; still he was obliged to impress horses. The attempt to forward war material down the Shannon on floats proved a failure. On the 14th of August the army reached Cahirconlish, four miles from Limerick. Much water had flowed under the bridge since the British had gazed on its walls eleven months before. The taking of Cork and Kinsale, the storming of Athlone, the battle of Aughrim, and the surrender of Galway, might all have been inscribed upon their banners and drums. Yet a hard task lay before their victorious arms.³ Ireton's fort had been repaired, a new fort had been built to the right on the site of an old churchyard near it, and a third had been commenced in order to complete the line of communication

¹ *Macariae Excidium*, 140-143, 466-470; Story, 180-183; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, 475, 528.

² Story, 119-120, 184; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 394-396.

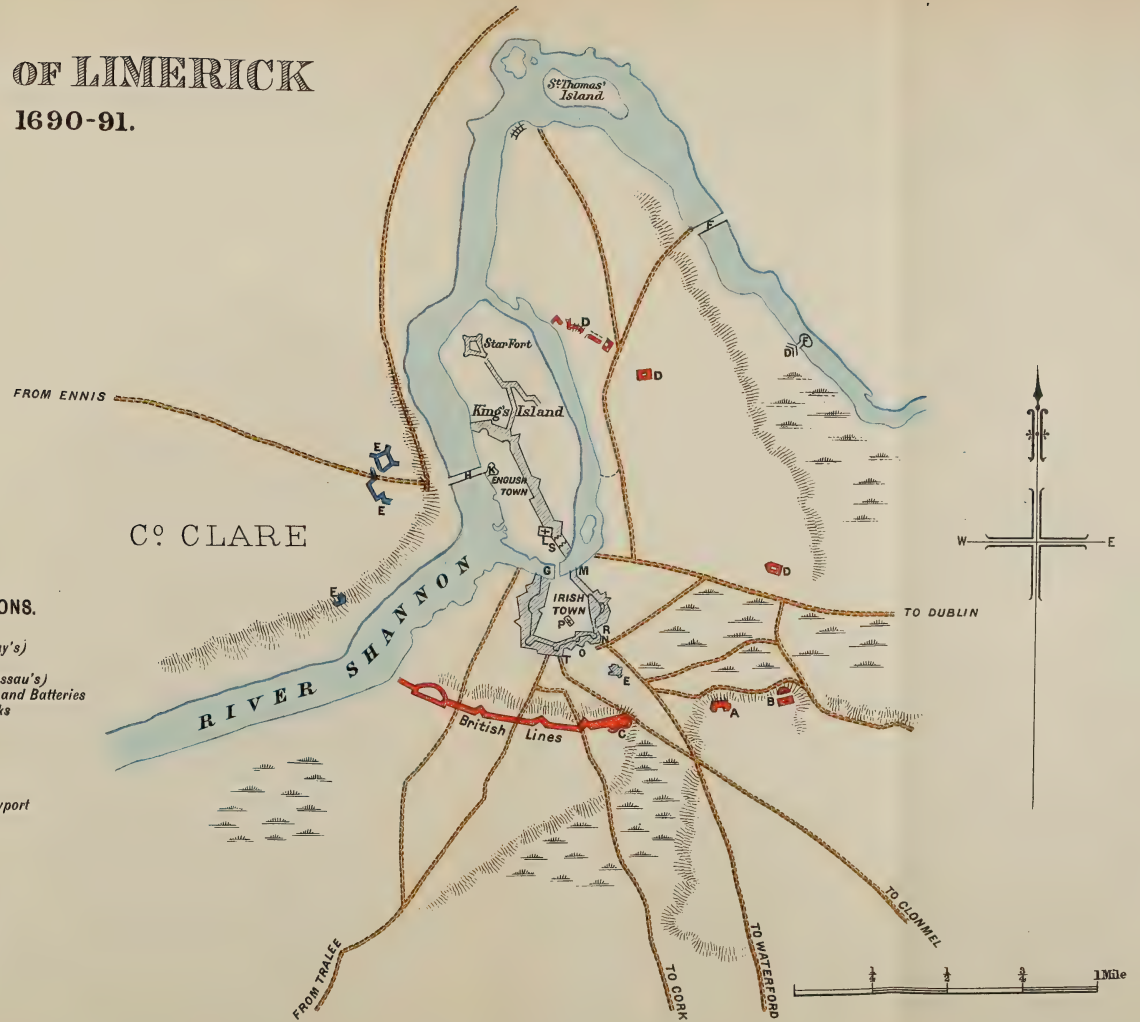
³ The season was so advanced that the council of war seemed adverse to the attempt. Ginkell replied, "No man shall take me alive from here till Limerick surrenders" (Klopp, v. 304). Count Windischgrätz's report, Oct. 30; he refers to letters from the headquarters before Limerick. See the *Contemporary Diary of Siege of Limerick, 1691*, by Colonel Richards in the *Jacobite Narrative*, 282-298.

SIEGES OF LIMERICK

1690-91.

EXPLANATIONS.

- A Ireton's Fort (Mackay's)
- B Old Church Fort
- C Cromwell's Fort (Nassau's)
- D Other British Works and Batteries
- E Irish Advanced Works
- F Pontoon Bridges
- G Ball's Bridge
- H Thomond Bridge
- K The Castle
- L The Abbey
- M East Watergate Sallyport
- N Black Battery
- O John's Gate
- P John's Church
- Q Citadel
- R The Breach 1690
- S The Breach 1691
- T The Devil's Tower



between them. The star-fort on King's Island had been restored, and covered ways united it with the town. Within the old walls of Irish Town earthworks had been raised. Sarsfield and Wauchope inspired the soldiers to make a brave stand, hoping against hope that assistance might arrive from France. The undaunted Irishman commanded the cavalry, with Shelden as his lieutenant. De Tessé acted as Governor of the city. Some officers saw the hopelessness of the struggle, and wanted to yield at once.¹ The Irish Jacobites, the Roman Catholic Bishops, and Tyrconnel opposed this counsel, for the Viceroy had heard that the French were about to send active assistance.² On the 13th of August Tyrconnel passed away.³ He had long been in failing health, and the late disasters to his side had not improved it. A secret commission was now produced from James, authorising Sir Alexander Fitton, Sir Richard Nagle, and Francis Plowden to act as Lords Justices of Ireland. Unlike Tyrconnel they were unable to interfere in the conduct of war, so that Sarsfield and D'Usson remained the real directors of affairs.⁴

There is an undated review of the state of the Irish by William Floyd, which was obviously sketched at the commencement of the siege. "The French fleet brought little ammunition. Tyrconnel only brought sixty thousand pounds. Brass money is cried down; there is a plentiful market, beef is six or seven shillings a quarter, very good mutton for a half-crown or two shillings, malt is three-pence. The twenty ships brought wine, brandy, salt, and wheat enough, their soldiers and officers paid in tobacco, brandy or salt, for which they get fresh meat and other necessaries. Their army is forty or fifty thousand, whereof five thousand are horse and dragoons. About twenty-five thousand are well armed, the rest clubmen.

¹ Clarke, ii. 460. Hoffmann's report, Sept. 7.

² Story, 143-144.

³ *Light to the Blind*, 745. "Ginkell gained the town in earnest, and with it a kingdom. He may thank the death of Tyrconnel for it: whose life would have preserved the town and country, as he had layed his measures with France." Clarke, ii. 459,

462. D'Usson and Tessé to Barbesieux, Aug. 13.

⁴ *Light to the Blind*; *Macariae Excidium*. 23

Their whole dependence is on Sarsfield's fortune and conduct. Tyrconnel and he are no great friends, and neither can he endure France. The country is full of cattle, and till that is cleared they will not yield. If there was any encouragement given most of their officers would desert."¹

For ten days Ginkell appeared to be inactive at Cahirconlish. He renewed his proclamation on the 11th of August, and on its rejection he prepared for the siege.² The Commissariat had not learnt many of the lessons taught it by past mistakes, but Ginkell had mastered some of them. Among these the surprise of Ballyneety was not forgotten, and at this siege no similar opportunity was presented to Sarsfield. The Tipperary Militia escorted a large Commissariat train. Large escorts under Major-General La Forest met the train of artillery coming from the Athlone depot under Colonel Lloyd's charge. This train was composed of nine 24-pounders, nine 18-pounders, and three mortars, with a corresponding allowance of ammunition. Another train was hourly expected from Dublin. From the same headquarters came twenty-nine tin pontoon-boats. The fleet of eighteen ships, under Captain Cole, sailed from Galway Bay, and anchored about three miles below the town. The 11th Foot and the 5th Dragoon Guards also arrived. Each of these regiments was ordered to manufacture two thousand fascines. A traitor had given at Galway information, and now a former Governor of the city, Sir William King, escaped to the English camp, and his local knowledge enabled him to give Ginkell much useful intelligence. Deserter after deserter came to the camp; they were the rats from the sinking vessel.³ They all told the same tale of suspicion and strife, crimination and recrimination, going on within the town.

As at the first siege, it began to rain in such torrents that for a week it seemed the besiegers would be obliged

¹ I. 6, 9 (*Southwell Correspondence*, T.C.D.).

² *Clarke Correspondence*, v. 408.

³ Story, 173, 186-188; O'Donnell to William III., Oct. 9, 1691 (*Clarke Correspondence*).

to abandon the investment. What a rôle weather can play in fortress warfare is shown by the history of winter sieges, among which those of Belfort and Sebastopol stand out prominently. But fortunately, on the 22nd the weather cleared up, and on the 25th active operations commenced.¹ In order to put an end to pillaging on the part of both soldiers and officers, Ginkell forbade any one to purchase cattle from them. In truly mediæval spirit he attempted to fix the price of provisions, arranging that ale from Dublin should be sixpence a quart, loaves threepence a pound, and brandy twelve shillings a gallon. The sutlers, however, so manipulated the law of supply and demand that at the end of the siege ale cost fourteenpence a quart.

The English General directed his early efforts to getting possession of the external forts and earthworks. Mackay attacked Ireton's Fort and Count Nassau Cromwell's Fort, and after a slight defence both surrendered. The soldiers set to work vigorously, strengthening the forts, digging trenches and planting batteries; the lines of investment were so extensive that even the horse and dragoons were asked to furnish four men from each troop for spade-work in the trenches. The outworks deserted by the Irish were improved and connected by lines of communication. The great difficulty was to find places to erect batteries within effective distance of the walls. On the 4th of September a formidable battery was erected on a narrow strip of land opposite English Town, the nature of the ground forbidding the besiegers to approach the walls nearer than at three or four hundred yards distance. On the 8th at least five batteries, with the total of sixty guns, began a simultaneous cannonade upon the doomed city; bomb and bullet, ball and fire-ball, fell ceaselessly within its streets. When a house burst into flames the Irish robbed it, comforting the owners with the assurance that it was

¹ The news of the victory of Salenkemen reached Limerick. A threefold salute from the cannon of the besiegers announced to the besieged that besides the King of France, to whom, presumably in their own interests, they were useful, the Turks were also to be considered their friends. Cf. the report, Sept. 18, from William's headquarters.

"better for them to be plundered by their own people than to give what they had to the English soldiers, who would certainly strip them on the first opportunity." Of course this rain of fire did not interrupt the Jacobites' communication with County Clare, where their cavalry were quartered.

The effects of the heavy firing were visible on the 9th, when a wide breach in English Town wall appeared between Ball's Bridge and the Abbey, broad enough for two coaches to drive abreast.¹ Despite the Irish fire, on the 11th the breach was at least forty yards wide. Ginkell, however, perceived that unless the town were invested from the Clare side there was little hope of a speedy reduction. In order to conceal the attempt to pass the Shannon the British pretended to raise the siege as they had done the preceding year. Two or three large guns were openly withdrawn and placed on board the fleet. Floats and tin boats were all the time being skilfully prepared. On the evening of the 15th of September the 2nd Foot, four hundred grenadiers, and six hundred workmen, were ready to cross the Shannon about a mile above St. Thomas's Island. They were supported by Talmash with five regiments of infantry, and by Schravemoer with cavalry and six field-pieces. At midnight began the building of the bridge to the island; from the island to the shore was fordable. When the morning dawned the grenadiers possessed the island, and the dragoons were marched over the completed bridge.² Clifford's Irish Brigade could not dispute the passage and fled.³ The Shannon had been definitely passed and the fate of Limerick had been as definitely sealed. The humane Ginkell issued a new proclamation in which, assuming that it was the French who gave the Irish the evil advice to protract the war, he offered the garrison in case of their capitulation within eight days very favourable terms, pardon for offences against King William, restitution of the estates which they had forfeited, reward for their services, and all the benefits promised by the Lords

¹ Story, 188-216.

² *Ibid.* 216-217; *Macariae Excidium*, 149, 480-482.

³ Story, 216; cf. Clarke, ii. 460-461.

Justices in their proclamation of the 7th of July last. He added that if, notwithstanding this proposal, they should still remain obstinate, he held himself guiltless of the certain destruction which they were about to bring upon their own heads.

In a careful minute the French Generals pointed out to John Wauchope and Lucan the importance of the crossing and that it must bring about a capitulation.¹ "Mr. Clifford, having suffered the enemy to make a bridge upon the river Shannon, gave them thereby an entry into the County of Clare which was almost the only place we had to subsist horse and dragoons; the want of forage in the town having hindered us to bring in horse and dragoons into the town and the enemy having on the 2nd of October passed to the County of Clare with the greatest part of their troops, the ruin of them was inevitable as well as by the great number of the enemy that would have fought them as by want of provisions, so as the horse and dragoons must capitulate or disperse. The question was made whether France could send horse and dragoons enough to make us keep the country that is so ruined and desolate that half the flesh necessary for the garrison of Limerick—(it) is nothing but the ruins of a town—could not be drawn from the country.

"We should want bread on the 15th of October and we expect none from any part of the country, and we had no news if the convoy from France was parted from Brest; and if it were come to the mouth of the river of Limerick, we could not hope to make use of the bread before the last day of the month of October, even if the French fleet had burnt the English fleet then in the river and passed all batteries the enemies might make * * *² of both sides of the river.

"All these reasons maturely examined made us desire

¹ Cf. D'Usson to Barbesieux, Oct. $\frac{4}{14}$, 1691. Letter of Schravemoer, $\frac{\text{Sept. } 24}{\text{Oct. } 4}$ (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.): "They wished to lay down their arms and even to insult the general by night." Egerton MSS. 2618 (Brit. Mus.).

² This word is undecipherable.

General Ginkell to let us retire into France with such troops as had a mind to go, being assured of the greatest number of them; having no hopes to establish the King but by going into France there to make war being not able to make it here, and if we had stayed to the last day of our food we could not obtain a capitulation and the enemy might thereby have had out troops, whereas now by passing them into France we may be in a condition not only to oppose the common enemy, but also to make a descent into England or Scotland if it pleased God to give the French fleet such a victory over the enemy's fleet as it had last campaign." ¹

Having crossed the river the careful General was anxious to secure the passage. The pontoon bridge was shielded with a covering work, and a strong force guarded it. In order to obviate the risk of dividing his forces a fresh battery was erected between Ireton's and Old Church Forts so as to command St. John's Gate and prevent a sally of the enemy. The fleet landed a naval brigade in County Clare, for it was clear that the fall of the town must come from that side. On the 22nd the council of war determined on the crossing of the Shannon. Leaving Talmash and Mackay in command of the camp, Ginkell, Würtemberg, Schravemoer, and Ruvigny, accompanied by practically all the cavalry, ten regiments of infantry, and fourteen field-guns, passed the river into County Clare. The grenadiers under Colonel Tiffin advanced to attack Thomond Bridge, which joined County Clare to King's Island. This bridge was guarded by two forts and near it eight hundred men were posted in stone quarries and gravel pits. The grenadiers tramped on amidst the shot of the cannon, the shell of the mortar, and the bullet of the musket. Behind them came the 2nd, the 27th, Lord George Hamilton's, and St. John's regiments. The grenadiers emptied the pits and the Irish retreated. So closely did they pursue the Jacobites that the French Major in charge of the bridge grew afraid that the besiegers might enter as well

¹ Egerton MSS., 2618 (Brit. Mus.).

as the besieged. He therefore pulled up the drawbridge too hastily, leaving some six hundred of his allies outside it. Some of these were drowned and others slain. The result was that the city was completely cut off from all communication with its cavalry near Sixmile Bridge; this hindered the Irish from making any concentrated attack on their assailants. The English possessed the forts and earthworks on the Clare side. Close on a thousand Irish lay dead, twenty officers and a hundred men were taken prisoners of war, three brass guns and five colours were also proofs of victory. The besiegers lost no more than twenty-five men killed and sixty wounded.

Next day, Wednesday the 23rd, despite the heavy rain, shot and shell fell all day long. At six o'clock that evening Ginkell heard the welcome sound of a parley beaten. Sarsfield and Wauchope interviewed him and proposed a cessation of arms for three days in order to include the cavalry outside in the capitulation.¹ It was at last clear to Sarsfield's eyes that resistance was useless.² He knew that food was running short and no relief seemed possible by sea or land. If the French fleet sailed up the estuary the English fleet lay waiting for them. Colonel O'Kelly notes "the sudden unexpected prodigious change of Sarsfield who appeared now the most active of all the Commanders to forward the treaty and took most pains to persuade the tribunes and centurions to a compliance. . . . Sarsfield in whom the Irish Nation reposed their greatest confidence, and who, as they all believed would be the last to hearken to a treaty, was now the most earnest to press it on." The Irish asked :

"1. That their Majesties will by an Act of indemnity pardon all past crimes and offences whatsoever.

"2. To restore all Irish Catholics to the estates of

¹ Mary gave the officer who brought the despatches announcing the surrender of Limerick a diamond ring worth £500. Yare to Clarke, Whitehall, Oct. 13, 1691 (*Clarke Correspondence*, T.C.D.).

² *Light to the Blind*, 769 : "We putt the question, how comes it that the French and Irish commanders within Lymerick are so ready to deliver up the town, and make peace with their enemies? The answer is : because they cannot hold longer the place, as being invested on both sides ; and by reason that they have lost communication with their horse." *Ibid.* 775 : "These are the two onley reasons, which were given to the publick for surrendering Lymerick : and which are proved null."

which they were seized or possessed before the late revolution.

“3. To allow a free liberty of worship, and one Priest to each parish as well in towns and cities as in the country.

“4. Irish Catholics to be capable of bearing employments, military and civil, and to exercise professions, trades, callings of what nature soever.

“5. The Irish army to be kept on foot, paid, etc., as the rest of their Majesties’ forces, in case they be willing to serve their Majesties against France or any other enemy.

“6. The Irish Catholics to be allowed to live in towns corporate and cities, to be members of Corporations, to exercise all sorts and manners of trade, and to be equal with their fellow Protestant subjects in all privileges, advantages and immunities accruing in or by the said Corporations.

“7. An Act of Parliament to be passed for ratifying and confirming the said conditions.”¹

The French knew the mind of Louis, and it is probable that they suggested these terms—excessive for those days—trusting that they would terminate the negotiations. It was to their interest to prolong the war in order to prevent the sending of reinforcements from England to Flanders.

Ginkell refused to assent to these terms; “the General returned them with disdain.” He answered that “though he was in a manner a stranger, yet he understood that those things they insisted upon were so far contradictory to them and dishonourable to himself that he would not grant any such terms.” He lent emphasis to his refusal by throwing up an additional battery. The Irish then inquired what terms he was willing to grant them. In reply he sent them twelve articles, and these formed the basis of the treaty of Limerick. On the 28th of September, Sarsfield, Wauchope, the Roman Catholic Primate, the Archbishop of Cashel, and others discussed them with the chief English officers.² The interview was prolonged

¹ Story.

² *Macariae Excidium*, 488-489.

and the discussions animated, for nothing less than the future of the Irish nation was under consideration. Ginkell's terms were accepted on the 28th, but remembering Strafford's despotic rule, they asked in the seventh clause that their demands, if granted, should receive Parliamentary sanction. They insisted too on waiting till the Lords Justices arrived from Dublin to sign the treaty on behalf of the Government. Until then cessation of arms was ordered. The victors and the vanquished met on friendly terms.¹ At one of these meetings Sarsfield inquired: "Has not this last campaign raised your opinion of Irish soldiers?" "To tell you the truth," came the reply, "we think of them much as we always did." "However meanly you may think of us," sadly spoke Sarsfield, "change Kings with us and we will willingly try our luck with you again."²

On the 1st of October the Lords Justices, Coningsby and Porter, arrived at the camp, and on the 3rd the treaty, or rather treaties, of Limerick was signed.³ The two treaties were the civil, containing thirteen articles, and the military, containing nine. The Generals on both

¹ Story; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*.

² Burnet, ii. 81; Story; *Diary of the Siege of Lymerick*. Klopp gives William's letter to the Emperor in Latin in the appendix to vol. v., Oct. 28, 1691: "The town of Limerick . . . is in our hands. And so the rebellion in Ireland is ended. . . . We cherish at the same time the hope that your Imperial Majesty will have the same joy . . . as we have. For although in itself the news is very welcome to us, we are also particularly rejoiced at it, because now that this town is taken we are in a position to be able to help our ally more energetically against the unholy designs of France under which Europe has been heavily sighing for many years. Nothing lies nearer our heart than this, and we will with God's help neglect no opportunity. May God protect your Imperial Majesty and maintain our friendship firmly and lastingly to the commonweal of Christendom." The King spoke in the same way to Count Windischgrätz, who congratulated him.

³ *Light to the Blind*, 789-790: "'Tis therefore that Lymerick must make provisos for the nation in general. She is encouraged thereunto by the knowledge of her own strength: which is so great, that she can force the enemy to raise his siege. By which the war is prolonged, at least to the end of the next campaign. At the beginning thereof, the Confederat Princes will be compelled, without dispute, to strike a peace with France, as not being able to hold out any longer thro' the want of England's army and money, which must be employed in the Irish warr. Hence immediately follows the dethronement of Orange, and the restoration of the King. General Ginkle understood very well this affayr by his granting better conditions to the garrison of Lymerick than are given to any besieged town whatsoever: tho' he gave not so good, as might have been extorted from him, which was occasioned by the too easy compliance of the Irish Commissioners, who were appointed to treat with him."

sides subscribed the military treaty ; Ginkell and the Lords Justices signed the civil treaty.¹

The Military Articles secured the right of any Irish or French soldier in arms who chose to leave Ireland to go anywhere abroad he pleased. He could take his family and property with him, but he was not to settle in England or Scotland. Every Irish garrison throughout the country was to share in the benefit of this agreement. For their conveyance to a French port Ginkell was to provide the necessary transports from Cork ; the ships were to be returned safely and the provisions used on the voyage to be paid for. Prisoners of war on both sides were to be released. The Irish Town of Limerick was to be surrendered to the English on the day of the signing of the articles ; the English Town, only when everything was ready for embarkation. The garrison was to be free to march out with its baggage and arms, and a portion of its ammunition. The military articles were faithfully carried out. The French and Irish troops were conveyed to France. Some of the latter, however, refused to proceed to their destination on learning of the treatment of their countrymen by the French. On the 8th of December three entire regiments, Colonel Macdermot's, Colonel Brian O'Neill's, and Colonel Felix O'Neill's, declined to cross over to Louis.² For this the English were in no way blameable. The only difficulty that occurred in the military treaty arose on the 5th of October, when an Irish officer informed Ginkell that he had been imprisoned because he refused to go to France. Ginkell was so annoyed by this breach of faith that he ordered four guns to be mounted on Ball's Bridge, saying that he would teach the enemy to play tricks on him.³ Sarsfield and the French were pardonably eager to carry off as many Irishmen as possible to the succour of Louis, while Ginkell was as pardonably desirous that as few as possible should enter the rival service.⁴ The English General

¹ Story, 228-232, 239-256 ; *Diary of the Siege of Limerick*.

² Story, 290-291 ; cf. *Macariae Excidium*, 491-493 ; *London Gazette*, Jan. 4, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

³ Story ; *Diary of the Siege of Limerick*.

⁴ Sarsfield to Ginkell, Oct. 17, 1691 ; *Macariae Excidium*, 491.

remonstrated so sharply with Sarsfield that the imprisoned officer was released. He then issued proclamations assuring the Irish that they were as free to stay in their own land as to leave it. He promised them, if they lived peaceably, favour and protection, while if they preferred to remain in the service his master would be happy to enlist them. But if they journeyed to France they could never return to Ireland.

To the French in general, and D'Usson in particular, it was of the utmost importance to secure as many recruits as possible. Later on the war might be renewed in Ireland.¹ Moreover, all Irishmen enlisted might oppose William on the Continent till the time came when they might once more be employed in Ireland in order to keep the English King engaged there. Soon they would return as part of a large French army, to their own loved island, and they thought that every man would be restored to his hearth and home. Sarsfield, Wauchope, and the Roman Catholic clergy powerfully pleaded with their troops in order to persuade them to embark.² They were so successful in their efforts that out of a garrison of fourteen thousand, eleven thousand agreed to go, two thousand went home, and only one thousand remained with Ginkell.³ Lord Iveagh's regiment, most of whom were Ulstermen, Colonel Wilson's, and two of Lord Louth's, elected to stay with the English. Brigadier Clifford, Colonel Henry Luttrell, and Colonel Purcell also threw in their lot with them. William had indeed conquered Ireland. He had won the land at the point of the sword, but he had not won the people. They refused to give him what he sorely needed, namely, men to fight his battles against Louis. The French King had won them, and William would have to contend not only with French, but also with Irish troops.⁴ Five thousand sailed

¹ *Light to the Blind*, 828: "The King of France made a false step in the politicks, by letting the Irish warr to fall: because that warr was the best medium in the world for destroyeing soon the Confederacy abroad, by reason that the Confederat Princes could not prolong the forraign war without the army and money of England, which were employed in the warr of Ireland."

² Story, 258-266.

³ *Light to the Blind*; *London Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1691.

⁴ D'Usson and Tessé to Barbesieux, Oct. $\frac{7}{17}$, 1691.

from Limerick, four thousand from Cork, and two thousand set out afterwards. We have seen that when James landed Louis had received some men : those, with these eleven thousand, formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade, reflecting in foreign lands lustre on the Irish name.¹

Relying on the very first of the military articles of Limerick, the exiles hoped that they might take their wives and children with them. Room was found for some of them, but many were left behind. Many women clinging to the boats were dragged into the water and perished in the waves.² From the shore there arose the keening—the strange Irish cry of desolation and utter distress—as the wife saw the husband, the child the father, borne away. The Irish censured Ginkell and Nassau for this cruel separation, for they maintained that the latter desired to use family affection in order to compel the men to remain. The English blamed Sarsfield and Wauchope, who wished, they said, to leave the sense of permanent injury rankling in the minds of their men.

But two days after the treaty was signed there sailed into Dingle Bay a relief expedition composed of eighteen ships of war, six fireships, and twenty other large vessels, conveying two hundred officers, three thousand men, and arms for ten thousand.³ It arrived just too late. Such a force would, perhaps, have enabled D'Usson and Sarsfield to hold out for a short time longer, until the winter season should force the English to raise the siege.

¹ The late Mr. T. A. Fischer wrote an admirable trilogy on "The Scots in Germany," "The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia," and "The Scots in Sweden." It remains for some Irish scholar to write works on "The Irish in Germany," "The Irish in Austria," "The Irish in Spain," and "The Irish in France."

² *Macariae Excidium*, 494-495.

³ *Light to the Blind*, 775-776 : "Which shewes, that the most Christian King was altogether for preserving Lymerick ; and that he doubted not of its baffling the enemy, as it did in the year antecedent. This sending of such considerable stores doth also indicat, that his Majesty was for continueing the warr of Ireland ; and that for this end he would send a reinforcement to the Irish army in spring following. . . . The monarch of France had powerful motives for keeping on foot the Irish warr. For thereby he would sooner dissolve the hostile Confederacy abroad, as retainning the power of England (on which the League much depended) here in Ireland employed ; and in the sequel thereof that Prince would be able to restore sooner the banished King of England. . . . 'Tis for these reasons, that the King of France conceived afterwards great indignation at the surrender of Lymerick ; because it frustrated his mighty expectations." Cf. Hoffmann, Oct. 30 (*Klopp*, v. 306) ; Clarke, ii. 468 ; Story, 271-273 ; *Jacobite Narrative* (1688-91), 298-308.

Lauzun saw the force of this consideration, for when D'Usson arrived in Paris the sometime Commander-in-Chief was thrown into the Bastille for his want of generalship. The war might easily have been prolonged till 1692, and William would have been compelled to give his attention to Ireland, not to the Continent. Sarsfield might well be satisfied, on the whole, with the manner in which Ginkell carried out his part. "Whereas," Lucan wrote on the 8th of December, "by the articles of Limerick, Lieutenant-General Ginkell, Commander-in-Chief of the English army, did engage himself to furnish ten thousand ton of shipping for the transportation of such of the Irish Forces to France as were willing to go thither; and, to facilitate their passage, to add four thousand ton more, in case the French fleet did not come to this Kingdom to take off part of these forces; and whereas the French fleet has been upon the coast and carried away some of the said forces, and the Lieutenant-General has provided ships for as many of the rest as are willing to go as aforesaid, I do hereby declare that the said Lieutenant-General is released from any obligation he lay under from the said articles to provide vessels for that purpose, and do quit and renounce all further claim and pretension on this account."¹

When the Irish leaders found their seven demands of the 23rd were not conceded, they do not seem to have pressed the claims of their countrymen. Brilliant as they had proved themselves with the sword they did not prove as competent to wield the pen.² They were disgusted with the tame ending of a spirited defence, and were anxious to quit the scene of their disgrace. "They were," writes the Duke of Berwick, "much to blame in neglecting to include in the agreement all the Irish in general; for the Generals of the enemy would have consented to everything for the sake of putting an end to the war; but the incapacity of the Deputies who were entrusted by the garrison to conduct the capitulation, and perhaps the fear that this proposition might be an obstacle

¹ Egerton MSS., 2618 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Macariae Excidium*, 156, 488-491.

to the transportation of the troops, which some persons for views of private interest were particularly desirous of, might be the reason why it was not even mentioned." Haste, therefore, was the order of the day. In the thirteen articles of the civil treaty, eleven deal with details and individual cases, and two only—the first and the twelfth—are concerned with the fate of the Irish. The first and the twelfth articles are the really important ones. The first states that, "The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of the said religion."¹ The twelfth runs thus: "Lastly, the Lords Justices and General do undertake that their Majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and will use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament."

Much depended upon the interpretation of Article 1. Were "the privileges enjoyed in the reign of Charles II." to be gathered from the actual practice at that time, or to be read from the musty tomes of statute law? There was all the difference in the world between the

¹ *Jacobite Narrative*, 179-180: "This article in seven years after, viz. in the year 1698, was broke by a Parliament in Ireland . . . ; for, instead of strengthening it, according to the purport of that article, the said parliament made a law for banishing *in perpetuum* the Catholick bishops, dignitaries, and regular clergy, which was executed. The parliament grounded the law upon their own interpretation of this first article without the consent of the Irish Catholicks, which in equity they could not do; for a party is never admitted judge, even among pagans, of the other party's right; and whenever a doubt ariseth upon any article of a treaty of peace, the settling of that doubt is usually left either to the mediator or to commissioners appointed from both parties . . . the persecution of the Catholick bishops and regular clergy, in the reign of Charles the second, lasted but for a short while. But this banishment . . . is perpetual. Secondly, the parliament seems ignorant of the nature of a peace; for a peace is in perpetuity, and not left arbitrary to either party to break it or to keep it. And of the same duration is every article therein reciprocally granted; for otherwise there would be no peace ever made in the world, because one party would not leave his obtained doom to the discretion of the other, for the taking it away or not, when that other should think fit, and be able."

two interpretations. According to the letter of the law it was a criminal offence for a Roman Catholic Priest to say Mass and for a Roman Catholic to hear it. All Roman Catholics were liable to a heavy fine if they did not attend the services of the Church of Ireland. Priests, schoolmasters, tutors, and members of Parliament were liable to have tendered to them the oath of supremacy, and to be asked to renounce the authority of the Pope in civil matters. No Roman Catholic could act as justice of the peace, mayor, recorder, alderman, magistrate, or burgess of any corporation. He could not purchase or take a lease of a house within any corporate town without the licence of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Privy Council. He could not send his children abroad to be educated without the special licence of the Privy Council. It is tolerably obvious from a reading of these Acts that they were aimed at Roman Catholicism because of the dangers believed to flow from the doctrine of the political power of the Pope, notably his deposing power. In England the provisions of law against Roman Catholicism were even more drastic, but happily they were not enforced in their full severity, and in Ireland the contrast between strict law and actual custom was even more marked. Save in times of grave political excitement little was heard of these menacing measures. That the English Commissioners looked to the spirit of the law is evident from their "Explanation of the Articles" of the 28th of August 1691.¹ "This is the original minute of what was settled by the General Ginkell and the Commissioners from Limerick who were impowered to treat about the surrender of that city.

"The first article extends to all the people in the city of Limerick and the garrisons now in the * * *² lands: it exhibits to all those that are in arms, by * * *² either in their quarters, or * * *²; and to all that are under

¹ *Clarke Correspondence*, $\frac{\text{May } 29}{\text{June } 2}$, 1691. The Lords Justices to Ginkell: "As to the matter of religion, which, we do believe, is what they are most desirous to have secured, we have sent a clause, as extensive as it is possible for us to undertake." Eger-ton MSS. 2618 (Brit. Mus.).

² These words are undecipherable.

their protection in the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork and Mayo, but does not extend to absentees, or the absent children, whose fathers have forfeited and were attainted thereupon, further than to restore them to or confine them in possession of what was given them by their fathers before the forfeiture.

“That all merchants and reputed merchants, who have not bore arms, and are absent, shall enjoy the benefit of the first article if they return in six months.” A marginal note adds, “Belonging to the enemies’ quarters in Clare, Kerry and Limerick.”

“If the widows have not forfeited by the law no advantage is to be taken by the capitulation against them ; nor against the children whose fathers have not forfeited if they return in ¹ months.

“Any goods of forfeiting persons (who are restored to their real estates that are in Trustees’ hands or undisposed of by the Government, to be restored ² that their real estates be discharged of all quit rents and crown rents to the time of perfecting those articles.

“That the gentlemen of estates who have the benefit of those capitulations shall have the liberty to keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the home, and wear a sword and case of pistols if they think fit.

“The Roman Catholic lawyers, attorneys, physicians and surgeons have the same privileges as in King Charles’s time.

“The ecclesiastics that have a mind to go beyond the sea may.

“That all outlawries and attainders shall be reversed gratis, and if any persons, so (through) those capitulations are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices and the General will do as much as is in their power to have them restored.

“Public officers that by order have taken anything during the war for the public service shall not be liable to private action for the same, nor for rents or profits received of Protestant lands that were given *in custodiam* or they otherwise enjoy.”

¹ The number of months is not inserted.

² This space is left blank.

The next section of the Explanation is most remarkable. The body of the document contains the provision, "That Roman Catholics shall be excluded from the benefit of trading that they had in the reign of Charles II." A later hand scores through the words "shall be excluded" and adds in the margin "shall enjoy their freedom," a most significant change.

"Inhabitants and residents in Limerick and other garrisons not to be obliged to quit the houses they are in at present, in six weeks' time from the signing of those articles, and that they remove their goods without having them searched at the gates, or paying any duties.

"That Roman Catholics shall not be obliged to take any other oaths than in the time of King Charles II.

"To be recommended to the Lords Justices the case of the gentleman that bought * * *¹

"The Lords Justices and the General will use their utmost endeavour to be answerable that their Majesties will do the same, to have those articles confirmed in Parliament.

"Those persons that shall break those articles to forfeit only for themselves.

"Referred to the Lords Justices to protect the persons of such as shall have the benefit of those articles for six months after the date from * * *¹ of debt."

George Clarke, the Secretary of War, wrote a memorandum on the back of other papers, and it deserves transcription. "This is the original draft of the articles signed October the 3rd, 1691. But in transcribing the fair copy, which was actually signed, Mr. Payzant my clerk left out in the second article these words, viz. and all such as are under their protection in these counties. This was not known till the day after when Sir Theobald Butler came to me; but the mistake could not be corrected at that time, because General Ginkell was actually gone upon his journey to England with the articles as signed."²

¹ This word is illegible.

² The part played by Sir T. Butler has never been fully recognised. One wants to apply Klopp's words to him (v. 288): "One is inclined to celebrate the merits of

“Afterwards the Irish had the advantage given them of this omission, by a broad seal, and an Act of Parliament, and indeed it was but just, for those words, viz., *And all such as are under their protection in these counties*, were agreed upon to be past at the very first meeting with the Commissioners from the City. The words interlined are in Sir Theobald Butler’s hand.”¹

Porter and Coningsby, the English Commissioners, ordered Clarke “not to deliver out any foul drafts of the articles nor show any copy or copies of letters we have writ upon that subject.”² The same day Clarke, however, sent “a copy to Sir Theobald Butler which any person you think fit may compare with the copy remaining in the office . . . for the satisfaction of your friends, but the Lords Justices and the General having sent to the King for leave to rectify the omission, think it inconvenient with the respect they owe to His Majesty the doing before they receive his answer. . . . I am sorry this should create any trouble to you.”³ It is therefore perfectly clear from this correspondence that the omission of the words in the second clause was entirely accidental and that no fraud was intended. The tone of the first article of the civil treaty shows that the Roman Catholics had some right to expect that the spirit in which the laws of Charles II. were actually administered should be taken into account, for it proceeds to promise “further security” to them. Moreover, this is evident from the “Explanation of the Articles” of the 28th of August 1691. “Since the Irish,” writes Story, “had it in their power to give us the town of Limerick or keep it for themselves, I see no reason why they ought not to make a bargain for it,

those who carry a war to a victorious conclusion. If they have done great things they are assured of the recognition of their contemporaries and of posterity. For they stand well forward of the stage of life perceived by all. It is otherwise with the diplomatist whose quiet efforts are aimed at avoiding war. His contemporaries scarcely know his name. The few who know of his activity take their knowledge with them to the grave. Posterity forgets them. In such cases an especially pleasant duty arises for the historian. For the latter there is no finer reward than the consciousness of having contributed to this, namely, that the long-forgotten benefactors of nations should receive their merited right of recognition, so that as Tacitus says their virtues may not remain silent.”

¹ Egerton MSS. 2618 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

and expect the performance of their contract." The bargain was not indeed that they might be placed on an equality with the settlers, but that a certain measure of toleration should be extended to them. The Colonists did not view the treaty of Limerick with any feelings of approval. In fact they did not hesitate to blame Ginkell and the Lords Justices for the generous terms they had granted, and sought to minimise their effect, as the treaty seemed to stand between them and the spoils which they regarded as due to the victors.¹ They urged that since the Roman Catholics had failed to secure by treaty those definite guarantees which they had at first demanded, and had had to content themselves with the vaguer promises embodied in Article I., these should be construed in the most uncompromising fashion. The Roman Catholics, denied the new legal rights they sought, were to be stripped even of the privileges which, in Charles II.'s time, they had enjoyed as the result of administrative clemency. In view of the actual negotiations, which sufficiently reveal the intentions of the contracting parties to the treaty, this perverse reading of the clause cannot be upheld for a moment. It violates all the canons of interpretation and would be incredible, but for one's knowledge of the way in which whole communities in time of excitement are swayed and carried away by selfish and unworthy motives.

When the treaty was signed the Lords Justices returned to Dublin and attended Christ Church Cathedral the following Sunday. Doctor Dopping, Bishop of Meath, discoursed on the late events and urged, to his everlasting shame, that no faith ought to be kept with so faithless a people as the Irish. The next Sunday Doctor Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, preached in the same cathedral, but he

¹ Cf. *Clarke Correspondence*, i. f. 83; Crauford to G. Clarke: "Many after the former rebellion got great estates, and why may not you have a lucky hit? which will make you in such circumstances that you may ever after enjoy your friends with freedom, without being confined to the troubles of an employment. If Ireland be unfixed, England cannot be very fixt. Unless you can raise your fortune in Ireland, it will not be fit to stay there, for two years' stay there will lose your interest in England. If you see that by your settlement in Ireland you cannot help this (employment) here (*i.e.* in London), then I beg your friendship and the same present which must be made here of a hundred guineas to a certain person if ever any good success is to be expected."

argued that public faith must be kept. It stands to William's credit that he removed Dopping's name from the list of Privy Councillors and inserted that of Moreton. Unfortunately many acted in the spirit of Dopping's address. The sheriffs and magistrates appeared to regard the Roman Catholics as if they were outside the pale of the law. Six weeks after the fall of Limerick the Lords Justices received a letter containing complaints of the ill-usage endured in Ireland by those who were under their Majesties' protection by the recent treaty.¹

James's Irish Parliament had repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and we saw that many members had deserted their parliamentary duties in order to resume possession of their estates. With a view to evolving some order in the chaotic condition of the law of real property a Court of Claims was now established; certain commissions of inquiry were appointed, and writs issued out of the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer. As the result of these inquiries it was ascertained that about four thousand resident and fifty-seven absentee landed proprietors had forfeited their rights to some 1,100,000 acres. The articles of Limerick, especially when the omitted portion of the second clause was added, reduced this estimate by quite one-fourth. Some sixty-five important landlords, not protected by these articles, were restored by the favour of the Crown, and many outlawries were reversed. The Irish lands of James II., the grants by James to Tyrconnel, and the property of those excluded from the benefits of the treaty, were granted by letters patent to soldiers and civil servants, or to favourites and courtiers. The domain that James had bestowed upon the distressed landlords was given by William to the Countess of Orkney; Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, received 130,000 acres; Van Keppel, created Lord Albemarle, 100,000; Lord Sidney 50,000; and Henry de Ruvigny, created Earl of Galway, 40,000.

Preparations were being made for the Parliament about to meet in Chichester House, 1692. It was the first to

¹ Klopp, vi. 20, Count Stratemann's Report, 138, 164.

be held since 1666, for the Journals of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords make no mention of the meeting of 1689.¹ Parliament under the Stuarts did not sit very often. In the reign of James I. there were two sessions and ten laws passed; in the reign of Charles I. twelve sessions were held and eighty-six laws enacted. Charles II. held four sessions and fifty-four laws were passed. A total of a hundred and ten laws placed on the Statute Book in the space of ninety years does not seem an alarming number when we consider our modern views as to the importance of the legislative functions of the State. The number of members in the last session had been two hundred and seventy-six, but now it was increased to three hundred, and at this figure it remained so long as the separate Parliament lasted. For the province of Leinster one hundred and thirty members sat, for Ulster seventy-six, for Munster sixty-four, and for Connaught thirty. In the House of Lords twelve spiritual and sixteen temporal peers assembled. As no Irish Act disqualified them from sitting in either House, some Roman Catholic peers and commoners attended. In 1691 the English Parliament passed an Act abrogating the oath of supremacy, then required in Ireland, and substituting other oaths and declarations. The fifth section of this Act decreed that no member of either House of the Irish Parliament should sit until he had taken the new oath and subscribed the declaration against Transubstantiation. The Irish Parliament enforced the English Act, overlooking the fact that in so doing it admitted the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland.² The effect of this was that, despite the treaty of Limerick, from this time forward Roman Catholics were to all intents permanently excluded from membership of either House. The Roman Catholic members were tendered the oath and the declaration, and as they refused both they were not allowed to sit. Porter and Coningsby had ceased to act as Lords Justices, and

¹ With p. 562 the *Irish Commons Journals*, ii., closes the proceedings of the 1666 Parliament, and on p. 563 it gives the opening page of the account of the 1692 Parliament.

² *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 574.

Lord Sidney had just been appointed Lord-Lieutenant. His instructions mark an important declaration of policy on the part of the Government.¹ Sidney was to inform himself of the present state of the kingdom and to transmit an account thereof; to settle matters in the Church and to see that livings in the Crown's gift were filled with pious and orthodox clergy; and to endeavour to induce other patrons of livings to do the same; to inquire generally into the administration of justice and to assist the commissioners of the revenue; to see that official interests be better served in the survey of extended lands; in case at any time the revenue should not "hold out" to pay the whole establishment, no pension was to be paid till the entire civil and military list had been discharged, and, if the surplus was insufficient to pay all pensions, a proportionable abatement was to be made on each; to make a complete muster of the forces and to administer the oath to them; to see that the soldiers were quartered with the least inconvenience to the subjects; to cashier any officer who should give or receive a challenge; to take a survey of the present state of the castles and forts, the magazines and artillery, and to set up the art of saltpetre-making. The instructions proceed to deal with industry. Sidney was to do all in his power to advance trade so far as might consist with the laws in force for the welfare and commerce of England; and more especially with such as relate to the plantations; to improve the fishery trade and the linen manufactory, and to regulate the defects in packing and curing butter and beef; to prohibit the transportation of wool, and to prevent the unlawful coining and vending of small money for change. He was to give all lawful encouragement to all Protestant strangers coming to Ireland, and they were to enjoy such privileges as might be consistent with the laws of Ireland. He was to seize any rebels coming from Scotland and to send them to England, and to inform himself how far the proclamation for the Papists to bring in their arms had been obeyed. By additional

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, pp. 176-180.

instructions he was to see that the articles, granted last year to Galway, Limerick, and other places on their surrenders, were construed according to their strict meaning without showing any favour, and to notify the names of persons liable to prosecution for offences against the Crown. None of those who submitted voluntarily were to be prosecuted, and no clemency was to be shown to those who since their submission had returned to the enemy.

Sidney wanted to act fairly, and he was anxious that Parliament should confirm by law the articles of Limerick. But the members were in no mood for healing the sores of their country. They laid bare the wrongs inflicted upon them by James's Parliament, and their constant thought was to have them redressed. The merciful treatment of the Jacobites, the gifts to William's friends, and the salaries of those who managed these grants, were all regarded with unconcealed hostility. After the election of the Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Levinge, as Speaker, the mood of the House was easily discerned. Like the English Speaker he made the usual claim "on behalf of the Commons of an entire conservation of all their privileges; that they may have freedom of speech and debate, and not be molested in their persons, goods, or attendants; that the errors I shall commit in delivering the sense of the House at any time may not be imputed to the Commons, but reformed by the further declaration of their mind and pardoned by your Excellency; and that when the public good shall require, I may, by direction of the House, have free access to your Excellency's most noble person."¹ Some preliminary business was discussed, and thirteen members who had been elected for more than one constituency were asked to decide for which boroughs they were going to sit.² New boroughs were created at Blessington, Middleton, Castlemartyr, Rathcormock, and Doneraile.³ Fergus Farrell, a member, was expelled and rendered incapable of ever sitting in Parliament

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 575.

² *Ibid.* 578-579, 606-607, 616.

³ *Ibid.* 594, 608.

because he had been an active supporter of James.¹ Five committees were appointed to consider and report upon matters of religion, grievances, trade, justice, elections and privileges.² These found materials for discussion in the Lord-Lieutenant's speech to both Houses. "This privilege of meeting in Parliament," he had remarked, "being thus restored . . . you will make use of it to pass such laws, as now are, or hereafter shall be, transmitted to you, as may tend to the firm settlement of this country upon a Protestant interest. . . . A country, so fertile by nature, and so advantageously situated for trade and navigation, can want nothing but the blessing of peace, and the help of some good laws, to make it as rich and flourishing as most of its neighbours."³ Both Houses expressed their hearty thanks to William "for reducing this Kingdom, and the re-establishment of the Protestant religion and the English interest." They at once recognised and ratified the title of William and Mary to the Crown, by an Act of Recognition opening with the significant words: "Forasmuch as this Kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this Kingdom is declared to be justly and rightfully dependent upon, and belonging, and for ever united to the same."⁴ They considered a number of laws, made in England since the tenth year of Henry VII., from the point of view of Ireland. The age of Charles II. has been called that of good laws, and the Irish Parliament evidently shared this belief, for they adopted eighteen statutes of that time, one of these being the Act abolishing the writ *de heretico comburendo*.⁵ They renewed for seven years more another Act of Charles II. for the encouragement of the immigration of the Huguenots and Flemings.⁶ These were allowed to exercise their religion according to the rites used in their own countries. The oath they were appointed to take on receiving a grant of land gives a clue as to why they were tolerated and the Roman Catholics were not. It ran as follows: "I, A. B., do

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 596.

² *Ibid.* 579-583.

³ *Ibid.* 576.

⁴ 4 Will. and Mary, c. 1.

⁵ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 596-598.

⁶ 4 Will. and Mary, c. 2.

swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me, God." The foreign immigrant thus disclaimed his belief in the deposing power of the Pope—a doctrine that the colonists were firmly persuaded was stoutly held by every Roman Catholic. For this reason, to a large extent they tolerated the one and persecuted the other. It should not be forgotten that the Irish Church shrank from dissent almost as much as from Roman Catholicism, and that political reasons largely accounted for the toleration extended to the one and the tribulations met with by the other. The Parliament encouraged Baron Lutichan to bring two hundred people, accustomed to linen and other manufactures, from Silesia.¹ The immigrants were permitted to land their goods and chattels free of duty, and the Baron was declared exempt from taxation for the space of seven years. These matters were peacefully settled, and then the session became stormy. Both Houses of Parliament brought forward an address which voiced their feelings, and both passed it on the same day. It gave a not unskilful summary, from their standpoint, of the result of Tyrconnel's rule. "The Irish nation," they declare, ". . . proceeded, in imitation of their new master (*i.e.* Louis XIV.) to violate all faith, to cancel all laws, and overturn the constitution and legal securities of the Kingdom and Protestant religion, to which end they arm the whole body of the Irish Papists either with military weapons, or the murdering skeine and half-pike; they disarm and dismount all Protestants, and turn them out of all Offices and employments; they force them to receive their debts and mortgages in brass money; they

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 620.

dissolve all Charters and Corporations by judges, sheriffs and other officers not legally qualified ; they impose taxes without authority of Parliament ; they burn and destroy the Protestant houses and improvements, seize their provisions necessary for life, which forced many of them to fly into England for safety and relief, while they continued their barbarities to such as stayed behind ; seized the Churches, the University and all Schools of learning and foundations of religions and charity ; they affront, imprison and rob the clergy of their tithes, maintenance and jurisdiction by an Act of their pretended Parliament ; they prohibit writs of error and appeals into England and attain thousands of Protestants, among whom were several women and children, without hearing ; they repeal the Acts of Settlement, the great bulwark and security of the English interest in this Kingdom.”¹ The address goes on to speak of popery and slavery as equivalent terms, and shows that the tone of the House then leant unmistakably towards coercion, not towards concession. The members resolved that no papist should be admitted into the standing army or the militia, that he should have no share in the forfeited estates, and that serviceable horses or boats held in his hands during the war with France constituted a great grievance.² There were many complaints of the losses inflicted upon trade by the French privateers, and Sidney was petitioned to send men-of-war to protect the coasts, especially the harbours on the south. These privateers carried constant correspondence between the disaffected papists and the French.

The Committee of Grievances inquired into the misappropriation of the forfeitures. In addition to the account of £135,552 the sub-commissioners rendered, their members ascertained that the commissioners had disposed of forfeited goods by private sale.³ They protested that the excessive number of outlawries had been reversed, and that too many pardons had been granted. Consequently they decisively refused to sanction

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 611-612.

² *Ibid.* ii. 599, 600.

³ Cf. *S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 203 ; *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 628.

the Treaty of Limerick, for the first article gave a legal existence to Roman Catholicism. On the 27th of October 1692, they drafted important resolutions.¹ These declared that it was the undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland, in Parliament assembled, to resolve the ways and means of raising money, and that it was their sole right to prepare heads of Bills for this purpose. Accordingly the following day they rejected on these grounds a Bill, transmitted from England, imposing an additional excise duty upon beer, ale, and other liquors. The Secretary of State, the Earl of Nottingham, wrote to Sir John Temple, desiring to "know whether the money bills are to pass in the Parliament of Ireland in any other method than other bills do, or whether in respect of them Poynings' Act is not to be observed; the Commons there pretending that they are to consider of the heads of money bills, before the bill itself is delivered to them in form."² The Privy Council referred to the judges the consideration of the Act of Henry VII., cap. 4, and the Act passed in the third and fourth years of Philip and Mary, cap. 4, declaring how Poynings' law was to be expounded. The Bench was asked to consider all other Acts relating to the holding of Parliament and the raising of money. The English judges, amongst whom were Sir John Holt and Sir George Freby, decided that it was not "the sole and undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland assembled in Parliament to prepare heads of bills for raising money."³ Sidney saw with alarm the course events were taking, and five days before these resolutions were passed he gave the House a timely intimation that it must take speedy proceedings with the Bills before them, as it would rise in a fortnight.⁴ To his disgust the hint was not taken, and on the 3rd of November he prorogued Parliament till the 6th of April. In his speech he stated that their resolutions of the 27th of October were contrary to the statutes of the tenth of Henry VII. the

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 614-615.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 494-495; *H.O. Letter Book (Secretary's)*, 2580, Nov. 7, 1692.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 191; *S.P., Ireland*, 355, No. 58.

⁴ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 603; *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2. 506.

third and fourth of Philip and Mary, and indeed the continual practice ever since. Sidney therefore protested against the votes and entries in the Journals of the House of Commons, requiring the clerk of the House to enter his protest in vindication of the prerogative of the Crown.¹ On the 15th of November 1692, the Earl of Nottingham wrote to him the emphatic words, "The King is well satisfied with your proroguing Parliament."² "If they are as foolish and knavish as they were," he wrote to Lord Nottingham, "they must not sit a day."³ Still he was at first disposed to try another session, for revenue was required to maintain the army. The House was again prorogued to the 6th of June 1693, then to the 5th of September, when it was dissolved by proclamation of the Lord-Lieutenant. After the prorogation Sidney gave a practical, if not a legal, toleration to Roman Catholicism. The members heard of this step with indignation. They resented the manner of their dismissal, and they showed the English Parliament that they had never dreamt of violating Poynings' law. In England the Lords and the Commons submitted to the King an address on the state of Ireland. It noted the existence of abuses and the mismanagement of Irish affairs, specifying the recruiting of the royal troops with "Papists, to the great endangering and discouragement of the good and loyal Protestant subjects in that kingdom," and noting the granting of protection to Papists, "whereby Protestants are hindered from their legal remedies and the course of the law is stopped." It contained objections to the addition made in the second article of the civil treaty of Limerick, and declared that no grant of forfeited land should be made until Parliament had discussed and settled the matter. The address lamented that the forfeited estates were let at under rates to the manifest lessening of the revenue. It noted the large embezzlements of the stores in the towns and garrisons of Ireland, and pointed out that the

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 629-630.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 504-505; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, i. 440.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 22; *S.P., Ireland*, 355, No. 9.

soldiers had not been paid their arrears.¹ William ordered an inquiry into the abuses complained of. Sidney had become alarmed by the report of a French invasion in the winter of 1692-93, and he had invited Roman Catholics to enlist.² These came "with a prodigious number of officers, who, without doubt, would do mischief when it was in their power." Popular clamour won the day, and in January 1693 a warrant was issued, dismissing the Roman Catholic officers and substituting Protestants. The same month an order went forth for the arrest of all secular and regular priests. Sidney, whose instincts tended towards a more tolerant policy, was recalled, and replaced by three Lords Justices—Sir Henry Capel, an intolerant Whig, Sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe. Eventually the two latter resigned, and Capel, raised to the peerage, became Lord-Lieutenant. With his accession to office, in May 1695, those hopes of conciliation, which under Sidney's regime had preserved a precarious existence, were crushed, and Ireland entered upon another phase of her chequered history.

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 55-56, Mar. 4, 1693.

² Klopp, vi. 208; Hoffmann's report, July 17, 1693: "The English lay claim to the dominion of the sea, but the French privateers play the master all around at sea. They intercept the English merchantmen in the neighbourhood of the navy lying at Tor Bay. The passage of the packet boat to and from Holland is never safe. The news has just arrived that again the packet boat due on

June 30
July 10

 had been riddled by the French and after taking out the cargo and letters has been burnt. Considering the superiority of the united fleet the Channel might be kept clear and safe by six little frigates relieving each other alternately. This is not done. The sea captains lie in the harbour and do nothing" (*Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2. 569).

CHAPTER VII

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE AND IRELAND ON THE EVE OF THE PENAL LAWS

WE must again refer to the international position, more especially as it concerned French relations with Ireland, in order to understand adequately the policy which came to be adopted in Ireland. For it is essential to note that these relations were by no means ended. Louis certainly had been foiled ; the slopes of Aughrim had witnessed a serious set-back to his Irish policy. He had counted on a more effective resistance being offered to William, and, having miscalculated, he had to pay the penalty of his error. Still, though his failure to appreciate the requirements of the situation, particularly in its naval aspects, had seriously impaired the efficiency of his western policy, it was not by any means abandoned.¹

It is easy for those who prophesy after the event to make light of the dangers which were to be apprehended from Louis by the English and Irish Governments. True enough, the struggle had been fought, the French had gone, and the treaty of Limerick, with its hopes, its problems, and its disappointments, lay between the battlefield and the Council Board, but those in authority remembered Sarsfield's boast at Limerick, that in a short time he would return to Ireland at the head of the exiles, and they turned their minds to the problems of defence. The chief topics in Lord Nottingham's letters are the expected invasion from France, and his anxiety about the

¹ *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. i. fol. No. 108 : "Memoire touchant des moyens pour avoir des recrues d'Irlande, 1693."

state of the fortifications in Ireland. The remarks contained in "Bishop M.'s (*i.e.* Moreton's) memorandum"¹ on Connaught, Munster, and Leinster shed much light on this topic. Connaught, he thinks, contains more Roman Catholics in it than any of the other provinces, and they are richer, and generally well disposed to English interests. Among them he mentions Mr. Denis Dayly, Lord Dillon of Costello, and Lord Boffin. Munster deserves careful watching because of its contiguity to France, and because many of the fishermen maintain communications with that country. Leinster was no source of weakness, for there were enough English in it to quell commotions. Lord Talbot drew up a well-considered report on the forts and fortresses in Ireland. Dublin he deemed poorly fortified for the castle is "all in rubbish by the late fire." If in Munster the three ports of Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale were secured, the south of Ireland would be effectively protected against the attacks of the enemy. As regards Waterford he suggests the erection of fortifications at Passage, and at Cork he thinks that booms and block-houses ought to be erected across the harbour. Incidentally he remarks that Cork is the second city in the kingdom as regards population and trade. The importance of Kinsale is due to the fact that merchant ships can easily victual there. Limerick forms the centre of all the western trade. As it would prove too expensive to fortify both Irish Town and English Town, a citadel, commanding both places, ought to be constructed. In his opinion the importance of Athlone has been exaggerated, and he recommends that horse and dragoons should be quartered there. Though Galway is the chief port of Connaught it is a place of decaying trade by reason of the bad roads. The country there is wild and barbarous, and the creeks are filled with pirates and smugglers. He considers Galway should be strengthened by enlarging the upper citadel and building one small redoubt on the green hill and another upon Mutton Island. Charlemont is not a place of great importance. Culmore must be fortified

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 55-56; *S.P., Ireland*, 353, No. 104.

as it is the only stronghold in the far north. Belfast is "rich numerous, but not well affected"; this is serious, for it ranks as the third place of trade in the kingdom. The cost of fortifying Limerick and Galway, Carrickfergus and Belfast, was £70,000, £20,000, £12,000, and £20,000 respectively, but these sums did not seem so vast to Lord Talbot as they did to his brother peer, Lord Sidney.¹

The distressful state of the country, observed by Lord Talbot, is noticeable in many directions. Derry and Limerick had suffered cruelly during the sieges, and the inhabitants had become too impoverished to rebuild or repair their property.² A petition of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, proves how much hardship that ancient foundation had endured.³ For three years they had not been able to pay sixty per cent of the Crown and quit-rents reserved on their lands. Their estates lying in Kerry and Ulster would be slow in recovering from the waste of the war. The Queen was so moved by the tale of universal want and misery she heard that she allowed cattle to be imported into Ireland from England duty free for one year.⁴ She remitted what was due the last Lady Day in the matter of quit-rents and the hearth-tax, and a royal warrant confirmed this timely concession.⁵ Food became so much increased in price that William augmented the pay of each trooper by fourpence a day, and that of the foot-soldier by twopence a day, because "all manner of provisions and necessaries are much dearer there (*i.e.* in Dublin), and it would be impossible for the men to subsist upon the present pay."

There were only twelve ships on the Irish station commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel whose flag was

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 71-74; *S.P., Dom.*, King William's Chest, II, No. 11.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 159, 161, Mar. 1; H.O. Letter Book (Secretary's), 2, 387; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, I, 296; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 400-401, Aug. 9, 1692; 403-404, Aug. 12, 1692; *S.P., Dom.*, Petition Entry Book, I, 363-365.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Feb. 2, 1692, 121-122; *S.P., Dom.*, Petition Entry Book, I, 233.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Mar. 19, 1692, 186; H.O. Letter Book (Secretary's), 2, 398.

⁵ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Apr. 30, 1692, 261; H.O. Letter Book (Secretary's), 2, 443; *C.S.P.*, 1691-92, June 24, 1692, 337; *S.P.*, Signet Office, 12, 480.

⁶ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Mar. 3, 1692, 166; H.O. Letter Book, 3, 109.

hoisted in the *Monk*.¹ William received secret information that the French were planning a descent upon Cork and Kinsale, and he advised the sending of vessels to Brest to gain intelligence of the preparations the French were making.² Warrants were immediately issued for spending six thousand pounds upon the absolutely necessary fortifications of Cork and Kinsale.³ Sidney was so anxious that he purposed visiting in person the fortified towns along the sea-coast. Fresh troops were ordered to Ireland, and all officers on furlough in England were commanded to return forthwith.⁴ William, fearing that the old Jacobite troops might be disaffected, gave permission for a regiment not more than fourteen hundred strong to be raised for the Emperor's service. Leopold I. was quite willing to receive the proposed Irish brigade into his pay, and William agreed that five hundred additional men might enlist.⁵ For some obscure reason the troops never sailed. When the danger of the French invasion was felt afresh, William was anxious to allow them to enter the Venetian service. "The late officers could not be provided for in England and may be tempted on any occasion to act against their Majesties here (*i.e.* in England) or in Ireland."

Details of the movements of the French navy kept alive strong apprehensions of an invasion of Ireland in 1693. Captain Fletcher reported to Sidney on the 12th of June that he had espied five French cruisers in Dublin Bay: eleven French privateers were looking out for the ships coming from the Chester Fair.⁶ Five sail were therefore ordered to cruise about the Irish Channel.⁷ Four hostile vessels of superior strength appeared off Carrickfergus. The West Indian merchants feared that

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 54; *S.P., Dom.*, King William's Chest, 10, No. 134.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Nov. 26, 1692, 512; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1,

441.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Dec. 14, 1692, 524; *S.P., Dom.*, Signet Office, 12, 546.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Nov. 26, 1692, 512; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1,

441; *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Dec. 23, 1692, 532; *H.O. Letter Book (Secretary's)*, 2, 598.

⁵ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Jan. 9, 1692, 91, 136; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1, 281, 295.

⁶ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, June 12, 177-178; June 24, 192-193.

⁷ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, June 16, 183; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1, 467.

the cruisers of the enemy might endanger the safety of the considerable number of ships sailing from Jamaica.¹ Two frigates were ordered to stand out to sea immediately and cruise off Cape Clear, and, having awaited their arrival there, to convoy them safe into Kinsale. Apart from commercial reasons, the Lords Justices were anxious to secure these privateers, for they carried between Ireland and France men disaffected to the Government, who corresponded with the King's enemies.² On the 19th of October 1693 the Lords Justices issued a miniature Berlin decree, forbidding the carriage of corn or other provisions to or from France.³ All ships laden with grain must be provided with a convoy. As the country was just beginning to revive after its heavy losses, Capel saw that a general prohibition of trade would be "a second ruin" to both tenant and landlord.⁴ The Irish had pretended that these exports were for a friendly country like Spain till the device of false entries and certificates had been exposed.⁵ When the French privateers surprised English ships—and they frequently did so—they not only ruined the exporters, but they also supplied the enemy, then in want and necessity.⁶

On the 4th of November 1693 the Lords Justices, among other things, asked Lord Nottingham to appoint such a number of ships as should be necessary to guard the coast of Ireland, and begged that the fortifications and garrisons, especially Kinsale, should be with all convenient expedition placed in a position of effective defence.⁷ The four men-of-war allowed for the protection of the whole kingdom were certainly too few.⁸ Nine at least were required if the trade in corn between Ireland and France was to be effectually prevented. There was no free trade in the seventeenth century. It is obvious that if sufficient

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, Oct. 3, 351-352; *H.O. Admiralty Entry Book*, 1, 76.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, Oct. 14, 364.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 370; *S.P., Dom.*, Proclamation, 6, 98.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, Oct. 21, 371-372.

⁵ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 251, 391, 383, 418; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1, 472.

⁶ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, Oct. 25, 1694, 330.

⁷ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 390-391; *S.P., Ireland*, 355, No. 117.

⁸ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, Nov. 28, 413-415.

convoys were not provided trade would be grievously hampered by these war regulations; in fact, the proclamation of the 19th of October 1693 might then amount to a total prohibition of the exportation of corn.¹

In the account of the victualling of the fleet we read interesting information as to the level of prices in those days. We glean that on the 30th of September 1693 the price of beef and pork in Ireland is little more than half what it is in England, though English beef is better and can be more certainly cured. Butter is also lower in value, though this is enhanced by the dangers of carriage. At the three great southern ports wheat is 13s. to 14s. a barrel, and in Dublin the price ranges from 13s. to 17s. The price of oats at the same three ports and at Dublin is 4s. 6d. to 5s., though at Carrickfergus it is only 3s. 6d. A small amount of beef costs 12s. to 13s. per carcase, and hogs, weighing from 130 to 150 pounds, sold for 14s. and 15s. per carcase; for this beef and pork not much Spanish salt can be procured.²

Ireland was feeling in many directions the effects of the Nine Years' War that was to end with the peace of Ryswick. The constant raising of troops for William's foreign campaign proved a heavy burden on the country, and left it but poorly defended. Galway, Limerick, Ross Castle, Cork, Kinsale, and Dublin all demanded garrisons as urgently as William demanded troops for the Continent.³ Yet Wyche and Duncombe—for Capel was ill—sent to his assistance in Flanders five regiments of infantry and one of dragoons. The low state of the revenue—there was a deficit of £165,356—rendered it impossible for the Lords Justices to furnish ready money for these soldiers.⁴ Brigadier Stewart was two years in arrear with his own pay; the undertakers for clothing the army had been unpaid for months. Lord Inchiquin urged on the 8th of March 1694 the necessity of fortifying Kinsale at once, but the Lords Justices could scarcely pay the troops and there was no money to spare for the defence of the south.

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 372.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 33-34.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 348, 371.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 41.

In a letter to Sir J. Trenchard they state the need for properly equipped forts : " There is a den of Tories who molest the country round about (Bantry) ; here the Popish natives harbour them, and corresponding with the French privateers, betray to them merchant ships, so that within these two years above twenty ships have been taken from thence by the privateers. The wisdom of former times built a fort in this place, by which that wild and rebellious country was kept in awe by a small garrison. And the Irish when it came into their hands in 1698¹ demolished it, that it might be no longer a bridle upon them. The rebuilding of this fort nearer to the sea than it was will secure those ships which shelter there, prevent this correspondence with France, unkennell those thieves that from hence do so much mischief, and every year save more than the whole charge will come to." ²

The old complaints of the depredations committed by the French cruisers continued to be made, and with much reason. On the 18th of July 1694, even their Majesties' ship, the *Scarborough*, commanded by Captain Killingworth, was taken off Tory Island by two French ships, one of 400 and the other of 26 guns.³ Rumours were current that seven French men-of-war had been seen on the northern coast. The merchants of Dublin came in a body to acquaint the Lords Justices with the damage they were continually suffering from the French frigates. In 1693 thirty-two ships had sailed to the West Indies, and twenty-eight of these had been captured by the French. On the 20th of July the Dogger packet boat with three packets on board had been taken by a French privateer. The merchants admitted that the *Talbot* was cruising about the coast, but they added that she was so great "a slug" that she would be able to render little protection. The French vessels swarmed so thickly along the southern coast that at least another man-of-war was required for protection. A Bill was passed for the purpose of encouraging Irish privateers,

¹ This date is obviously wrong. Possibly 1688 is meant.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, April 10, 1694, p. 94.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 236-237.

but the encouragement did not prove sufficient.¹ Excessive precautions were taken to ensure that no private French trade should be carried on, and that no embezzlement should be made of what were *bona fide* captures. In order to comply with these regulations the captors were obliged to bring the prize to some convenient port, and place it in possession of the officer of the prize court. The seaman's experience of the prize court in the eighteenth century was exactly the same as his predecessor's experience in the seventeenth. "Suppose a captor take a tun of French wine (and so it is in foreign sugars and tobacco) worth £44, and £23 of this be paid his Majesty in customs, the tenth of the remainder to the Admiralty, a third of the remainder to the Chest at Chatham, a third to the captor and his crew, and the last third, which is under £7, to the Prize Office, out of which the charges of that commission are defrayed, and the overplus paid to the King; out of that £44 prize, under £7 comes to the Prize Office!"² Not only the merchants but also the landowners awaited with much impatience the relaxation of the prohibition upon the export of corn.³ They desired the privilege of sending corn abroad to any country of the allies. The Lords Justices urged their claim when writing to Sir J. Trenchard, using Quesnay's argument of "*pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi.*"⁴ "It would," they pointed out, "be a great satisfaction to all people of this Kingdom by letting loose their trade and opening a way to bring some money hither which is grown exceeding scarce and would increase the revenue by the customs."⁵ On the 25th of December 1694 the Duke of Shrewsbury wanted to know from what ports of the kingdom corn might be most readily exported, so that the French might not be supplied therewith; and from what ports it might be necessary to secure a convoy and when the ships would be ready to

¹ C.S.P., Dom., 1694-95, 370-371.

² C.S.P., Dom., 1694-95, 371.

³ C.S.P., Dom., 1694-95, 346.

⁴ This is the motto of Quesnay's *Tableau économique avec son explication, ou Extrait des Économies royales de Sully* (1758).

⁵ S.P., Ireland, 356, No. 78.

sail.¹ On the 13th of April 1695 the Lords Justices received news, unwelcome to them though welcome to England.² Captain Holmes of the *Pearl* had captured a French privateer, and some prisoners informed him that their grand fleet was not going to set out that year. They would, however, have many cruisers abroad, of much greater force than in former years. These would sail in couples and would far exceed the strength of the guard-ships upon the Irish coast, for none of the latter carried more than thirty guns. Naturally the Lords Justices petitioned the Duke of Shrewsbury to send ships of greater size and sufficiency. They especially asked for two fourth-rate ships, "which are good sailors." The need for this qualification was pressing, as the tobacco ships were coming earlier home than usual from the West Indies. Moreover, in 1693 and 1694 many of these vessels had been taken "to the great loss of the King's customs as well as to the impoverishment of the merchants." Of the four ships guarding the Irish coast, two, the *Dolphin* and the *Pearl*, were ordered to be on the look-out for the West Indian fleet, the *Shoreham* was convoying some merchants to Milford Haven, and the fourth, the *Dover*, was being repaired at Kinsale.³

M. Dubourdieu had some time previously pressed the Duke of Shrewsbury to ask William to retaliate upon France for these naval attacks by promoting civil discord in France.⁴ The Huguenots had suffered many wrongs, and they could easily be stirred up. Dauphiny and Languedoc are, he points out, their strongholds. There would be little difficulty in throwing—and they ought to be refugees—three or four thousand men into the former

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1694-95, 360; S.P., *Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 2, 16.

² C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1694-95, p. 424-425; S.P., *Ireland*, 357, No. 18.

³ S.P., *Ireland*, 357, No. 18.

⁴ Cf. C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1689-90, p. 119: "The inhabitants are men of determination, and since the revocation . . . the troops have never ventured to make an attack upon the irreligious assemblies. The number of men capable of bearing arms . . . is very large, and a rising in any one part of the Cevennes would quickly spread. Ten officers should be sent by way of Switzerland; 50,000 or 100,000 livres should also be sent. . . . The Elector of Brandenburg might be asked to allow the refugee officers, now in his service, to go to Holland or England, in order to their return to France, where they can be of most use. A descent on the coast of the Mediterranean would greatly assist the insurrection. Orders may be sent to Zurich to Mons. de Convenant." *Ibid.* 517.

through the Pays de Vaux and Gex and the passes of Savoy and La Bresse.¹ The game was a tempting one to William. Was it not the move that Louis had employed against him? Had he not now an indirect chance of checkmating the king? This form of counter-attack was considered but not carried out. William was playing for far too high a stake to allow himself to be diverted by what was, after all, only a side issue.

Though we have little manuscript information for the remaining years of the Nine Years' War, yet we are certain that the French privateers continued to commit depredations, and we are equally certain that the Lords Justices continued to implore the Admiralty to furnish them with cruisers to guard the coasts and harbours of Ireland. It is difficult to form an estimate of the precise value of these oversea operations of Louis. A somewhat parallel case in the following century will best illustrate the difficulty.² The elder Pitt in the Seven Years' War employed a policy similar to that of Louis in the Nine Years' War. Henry Fox at the time described these enterprises as using guineas to break windows. Macaulay considers these coastal attacks to have been costly and absurd. Mr. J. W. Fortescue declares that they were a blot on Pitt's fame, while Mr. McDowall describes them as a costly mistake. Captain Mahan finds it difficult to believe that they effected much. Mr. W. D. Green thinks that the expeditions were never very damaging to the French. Frederick the Great, however, certainly recommended them at various times. Mr. Frederick Harrison declares that the expeditions made the Continent feel the ascendancy of Britain at sea, and urges that they should be judged as part of the general scheme of Pitt's policy. Finally, Mr. J. S. Corbett attributes great importance to them, suggests that some of them diverted large forces from the Continent, and declares that it is in

¹ On Gex see *Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du 16 Janvier 1662 portant plusieurs réglemens sur les entreprises des religionnaires du bailliage de Gex*; *Arrest contradictoire du Conseil d'Etat, du 23 Aoust 1662, par lequel Sa Majesté déclare que l'Édit de Nantes n'a lieu au bailliage de Gex.*

² Dr. Mahaffy makes the interesting suggestion that the signal case is Lord Cochrane on the French coast, and he dwells on Napoleon's anxiety about his doings.

the capture of Belleisle that we find the real exemplification of Pitt's original policy.

Some of these opinions may be disregarded, but still it is perplexing to find two experts like Mr. Fortescue and Mr. Corbett arrayed on opposite sides. When we consider the secret and parallel instructions issued by George II. to Sir E. Hawke and Sir J. Mordaunt on the 5th of August 1757, much of our difficulty disappears. The object of these orders was "to cause a diversion and engage the enemy to employ in his own defence a considerable part of his forces; to disturb and shake the credit of his public loans; to impair the strength and resources of his navy, and to disconcert and in part frustrate his dangerous and extensive operations of war." The commanders were ordered to co-operate in attempting a descent at or near Rochefort, to attack and force the place, and to burn and destroy to the utmost of their power all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping. Whether the plan succeeded or failed, the commanders were then to attack Port l'Orient and Bordeaux, or any other places on the homeward voyage as far as Havre, in order to carry and spread with as much rapidity as may be a warm alarm along the maritime provinces of France. At Rochefort in September 1757; at St. Malo in June 1758; at Cherbourg, August 1758; and at Belleisle, April 1761, the coastal attack was tried and it proved in part efficacious, though not to the extent Pitt anticipated. The first expedition spread alarm, and the last achieved a diplomatic success, while the other two did not repay their cost. The net result then is that we cannot approve or condemn these operations as a whole. They form part of a large scheme, and their influence is therefore all the more difficult to estimate.

If for the instructions of George II. to Hawke and Mordaunt before Rochefort we substitute the instructions of Louis to his captains, we have a tolerably accurate account of his aims. Although it must be admitted that the privateering expeditions sent out by Louis during these years were not supported by land forces as were the

corresponding operations during the Seven Years' War, yet a careful study of the confidential papers of the time show that he achieved a certain measure of success. Louis hampered the operations of William abroad, he lowered his revenue at home, he impaired the effective strength of his navy, and he distracted his attention by his descents upon Ireland. If Louis had understood the importance of the control of the sea, how much more he might have done! But now as ever, it was the east that held him in thrall. La Hogue had put an end to many of his dreams. Tyrconnel in Ireland and Frontenac in Canada tried hard to turn the gaze of Louis westward past his own shore, but they failed. From the time of the Irish embassy against Tyrconnel, Louis had become somewhat suspicious of the Irish and their aims. He did not feel sure of them, and he did not extend to them the support he otherwise felt inclined to give them. With James he had sent an insufficient army and an utterly inadequate navy, now he sent an insufficient navy and no army at all. The change in policy was inevitable after La Hogue, nevertheless it proved fatal in its effects on Louis's designs. It is hard to believe that his cruisers had much direct influence on the course of the Nine Years' War. There had been chances—before La Hogue—of conjoint operations against William in Ireland; but the day for these operations had passed away. The coast of Ireland had been thrown into a state of alarm and William's advisers harassed by these operations, but beyond this little had been accomplished.

When M. Dubourdieu desired that ships and troops should co-operate in order to promote civil discord in the country to which he had at one time belonged, the reader is forcibly reminded that the French descents kept alive such discord in Ireland. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe found a strong tide of Jacobite feeling running throughout the country and perceived much lawlessness to restrain. Orders came from England for the strict suppression of the rapparees and the three rulers endeavoured to carry them out. In imitation of

what had been done by other chief governors, they issued, on the 27th of August 1694, a proclamation for committing the priest of the parish where the rapparees were last "out upon their keeping," also their relations and other harbourers and abettors.¹ This somewhat drastic measure was to continue until all the Tories or rapparees had been captured or killed. The militia was specially charged with the duty of arresting the offenders, and commissions of Oyer and Terminer were issued for their immediate trial. But small detachments of men could not quiet the disturbed tracts; in County Cork, for example, three zealous magistrates complained that the mountains were so extensive, the fastnesses so strong, and the whole countryside—gentry, commonalty, and clergy—so much their abettors that the militia completely failed to reduce them. "But after all, as there ever have been, so we fear there always will be Tories in several parts of this Kingdom. It is not to be wondered at that, after a war wherein many have been totally undone, and others fear being dragged into prison and languishing there, for debt or causes of action arisen during the war, many have gotten a loose way of living and cannot betake themselves to a laborious, honest calling; some perhaps receive private encouragement from abroad or concealed enemies at home still to alarm the Government, and the country being so ill planted, there are more of this sort of rogue now than at other times."² Dermot Leary, one of the rapparee leaders, was specially prominent. He had a band of some thirty or forty under him, but in France he was looked upon as a considerable chief and the number of his men exaggerated to four or five thousand. On the 10th of December 1694 a proclamation was issued in Dublin offering a reward for the apprehension, dead or alive, of a number of rebels who had fled to the mountains—Leary and his followers in County Cork, Edmond Ryan and his followers in County Tipperary, Daniel Conway and his followers from County Kilkenny, and Patrick Malleaghill of Queen's County, Murragh Mac-

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 276-278.

² *S.P., Ireland*, 356, No. 65.

Sweeny and his followers from County Donegal, Bryan MacHugh and his followers from County Cavan, Connor MacGuire and his followers from County Fermanagh, Keadagh MacManus and his followers from County Roscommon, Cormuck Morley of County Antrim, H. Waldron and his followers from County Mayo, and Owen Gar MacKevet and his followers from County Louth were enumerated.¹ It is evident from the names of the counties that the Tories had extended their operations over large tracts of the country.

In February 1695 proposals were made to impose a double tax upon the Irish who would not take the oath and subscribe the declaration. On the 16th of March 1695 the Lord-Deputy and Council of Ireland discovered a fresh conspiracy of the Papists, and accordingly they renewed their determination to maintain and defend King William and his Government according to the late Succession Act.² In consequence of these troubles many Jacobites had been attainted and outlawed, and their lands never lacked Williamite claimants. On the 17th of January 1694 the Lords Justices had been commanded to prepare a new commission for the consideration of the forfeited lands. It was proposed to raise a million towards the expense of the Nine Years' War on the security of the forfeitures.³ Some Jacobites pleaded that they had lived peaceably since the battle of the Boyne, and occasionally their outlawries were reversed. In the case of the Brenans a curious side-light is shed on the insecurity of the title to real property. The case was proceeding in 1695 and much hinged upon the ownership in 1635, but the proprietor then could not be ascertained.⁴

Of course in the days of comparative quiet after the troubles of the war the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy naturally counted a great deal in Ireland. In 1691 "Bishop M.'s (*i.e.* Moreton's) memorandum" had suggested that the leaders of that Church might be usefully engaged

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, Dec. 10, 1694, 353-354.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 405; *S.P., Ireland*, 357, No. 12.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 369; *S.P., Dom.*, William and Mary, 6, No. 15.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1694-95, 432-434.

in counselling their flocks to submit to the new authority.¹ "If there were any of the Romish bishops now in Ireland," he remarks, "one of them salaried in each province with a pension of £100 per annum, (it) would be a good means to gain intelligence, and keep the rest of the clergy in order; but I know of none now in the Kingdom. But instead of them, the secular clergy and head (?) superiors from among themselves to inspect over the rest." In default of bishops, he mentions two capable Dublin priests, Father Murphy and Father Burne; though these were men of parts and education he suggests merely £50 per annum as a liberal allowance for each of them. There were not many regular clergy, and most of them were quite poor. He suggests there are precedents for sending them away, and his reason is significant. "They depend more immediately on the Pope's authority, and are supported by it against their bishops."² Besides, they are more irreconcilable to William than the secular priests, for "whenever there is any commotion, they are not only privy to it, but foment it."² The Bishop shrewdly remarks that much mischief is done by arresting Roman Catholics on mere suspicion, for they come to loathe the present Government. Moreover, Protestants employ this promiscuous seizing of men in order to take revenge for past injuries, or to gain money or lands. In a memorandum of the grievances of Ireland, drawn up in 1691, the unknown author disagrees with Bishop Moreton, for he wants to banish the seculars and to allow the regulars to remain.³ He holds that the secular clergy are turbulent, ambitious, and moreover they send to the see of Rome some £240,000 sterling each year. In addition to these drawbacks they cultivate among their people, he says, rancour and hatred against the Protestants. He desires the exclusion of Papist lawyers, attorneys, and officers from the courts of justice, because they will not take the oath of fidelity.

The memorandum of Bishop Moreton of Kildare and that of the unknown writer point unmistakably

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, 55-56.

² *Ibid.* 56.

³ *Ibid.* 67-70.

to the conclusion that the allegiance Roman Catholics owed the Pope proved a determining cause of the strong attempts made to keep them in political subjection. No doubt the colonists wanted to seize the estates of these unfortunate men, but the correspondence of their governors demonstrates that purely religious motives played little or no part in the repressive policy now inaugurated. They dreaded the power of the Pope, for they perceived its might in the sword and pike of the Irishman fighting the Englishman on the Continent. Sarsfield's boast of his future return—not alone—to his native land was not lightly forgotten. Had they not proof that this was no empty boast in the correspondence they were continually intercepting? They saw letters from time to time, containing details of the descent that Louis was to make shortly upon their coasts, and they might well dread the landing of a French army protected by a French navy. The French monarch was the trusted ally of these men, the French monarch was a Roman Catholic, therefore by an easy process of reasoning every Roman Catholic was their political enemy. The reign of Charles II. had ended but some six years before, and they vividly recollected that England had then been a captive dragged behind the triumphal chariot of Louis. They remembered that early in that reign, in 1662, the Nuncio at Brussels, De Vecchiis, had declared that a proposed address by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, stating their loyalty to the new sovereign, was a violation of the Roman Catholic faith.¹ Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Rospigliosi concurred in this condemnation.² In 1646 Cardinal Pamphili, the Pope's Secretary of State, had written to Rinuccini: "The Holy See never can by any positive act approve of the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to a heretical prince. . . . It had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the Holy See never to allow its ministers to make or consent to any public edict of Catholic subjects for the defence of the

¹ Throckmorton's *Letters to the Catholic Clergy*, 154.

² *Ad praestantes viros Hiberniae*, Walsh, 17.

crown and person of a heretical prince.”¹ The treatment too of the Huguenots convinced them that a war of extermination was to be waged against Protestants everywhere. Hence a Palatine, a Huguenot, a Protestant, wherever he lived, was a friend, and a Roman Catholic must inevitably be an enemy.

The dominant feeling of those days was that the gravest heresy of the Roman Catholic Church was the claim it put forth on behalf of the Papacy to hold a political supremacy over all princes and potentates. Its erroneous doctrines, its corrupt practices, were but as dust in the balance compared with its claim to use the deposing power. If the reader scans any pamphlet in defence of royal rights in the seventeenth century, he is sure, before he turns over many leaves, to see a reference to the Pope or his supporter, the great Cardinal Bellarmine. The generation that revolted against the rule of James in England had been trained to look upon the Pope as the head of an alien jurisdiction menacing the real independence of the country. There was, moreover, ample opportunity for men to hear such views. The 30th of January and the 5th of November were to the clergy suitable occasions for inveighing against Papal interference in the life of the State. Was not the martyrdom of Charles, of blessed memory, they asked, the work of the Jesuits? With a strange sense of logic they went on to ask: Was not Papal interference then against the laws and liberties of this realm of England? Turn to the sermon preached before Charles on the 30th of January 1689. “Is the greatest misgovernment,” Dr. Turner gravely asks, “sufficient pretence for any Pope or consistory on earth to depose a sovereign power?” We may smile at the reasoning, or rather at the want of reasoning, but his hearers believed implicitly in the perfect relevancy of the argument. Sober political philosophers dreaded the power of Rome almost as much as did the people. Filmer opens his *Patriarcha* with an elaborate attack on Bellarmine’s position. It has been said that James lost his throne because he believed

¹ Carte’s, *Ormonde*, i. 578.

in the Hobbeian conception of sovereignty, yet he might have pondered with advantage over the whole book of *The Leviathan*, which treats of the Kingdom of Darkness, signifying thereby the Roman Catholic Church. His friendship with the Jesuits might not, perhaps, have been so strong had he realised that his subjects believed that the Order of Jesus deliberately weakened the bonds of allegiance, and taught that a nation might resist and depose its sovereign. The Stuarts had been ever unfortunate in their friends, and a more unfortunate friend than Father Petre James could not have chosen. The fallen monarch found to his cost that the English practised two articles of belief in the Jesuit political creed, for they deposed him and persecuted Roman Catholicism mainly because of the political dangers apprehended from its members.

It was not to be borne by an Englishman that a Church should exist as a political body, claiming universal empire, and dissolving the bonds of national allegiance. He applied two parts of the famous sneer of Voltaire against it, for he affirmed that its holiness was at all events doubtful, and that it could by no means pretend to be an empire. Not for nothing had he imbibed the temper of Henry II. He saw the spirit of Thomas Becket in the followers of Ignatius Loyola, for no men defended the political power of the Papacy more ably than the Jesuits. "The hatred of the English at that time to the Pope, however intense it was, was directed," according to Klopp, "not against the Pope as such, but against a connection of ideas, France and Popery, or Popery and arbitrary power. The political ingredient of this hatred was stronger than the religious ; it was the essential kernel."¹ Andrewes and Bramhall, Taylor and Jackson, denounced in their pulpits what they believed to be the evils and dishonesty of Jesuitry, but it was not from a doctrinal standpoint. No English Pascal declaims against their casuistry as does every line of the *Provincial Letters*. But they set Jesuits out as objects of public scorn as

¹ Vol. viii. p. 488.

traitors against the nation, seeking to hamper its free life. Filmer, in the preface to *The Anarchy of a Mixed Monarchy*, informs us that "the main, and indeed the only, point of Popery is the alienating and withdrawing of subjects from their obedience to their Prince." Hickes points out that "Popery having apparently corrupted the Gospel in the doctrines of obedience, and submission, and the divine authority of the supreme power, especially of kings; they cannot be sound and orthodox Protestants, who hold the very same destructive principles to regal Government, by which the Papists have corrupted the Gospel in these points. No, they are not sound and orthodox Protestants, but Protestants popularly affected, Papists under a Protestant dress, wolves in sheeps' clothing, rebellious and satanical spirits transformed into angels of light."¹ The evidence is cumulative in showing it to be the common conviction that since Popery involved a belief in the deposing power it was necessarily a disloyal doctrine. It is highly essential to understand this point of view, for it gave rise to the Penal Laws; and unless we grasp it, these laws appear as an absolutely tyrannical code, having no other ground than religious bigotry pure and simple, whereas, in fact, mere theological antipathies were of little effect as compared with political apprehensions in producing the severities of the penal code. That its motive was mainly political even a cursory survey of the tracts and pamphlets, letters and state papers, of the time prove. Read Duport's sermon on the 5th of November. "I will not say (though it has been said) the Romanists' faith is faction, and their religion rebellion; but this I must say, that they teach and broach such doctrines as are very scandalous to Christian religion, and very dangerous and destructive to Kingdoms and States; as having a direct and natural tendency to sedition, rebellion, and treason. . . . I do not, I will not, say all our Romanists are inclined to rebel; I doubt not but there are many

¹ Hickes, sermon on Jan. 30, 168¹/₂. In another sermon he describes Jesuits as Rome's Fifth Monarchy Men. Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, i. 32.

faithful and loyal subjects among 'em ; but this I must say, As long as they own a foreign Jurisdiction, either spiritual or temporal, which they must do if they are thorough-paced ; and so long as the Pope usurps the power to depose and dispose, to depose Kings and to dispose of their Kingdoms, and to absolve subjects from their oaths of supremacy and allegiance ; so long the Roman religion must needs have a natural tendency to disloyalty ; and therefore, if Papists be good subjects, no thanks to their Popery ; and I fear, 'twill be hard for 'em to be good Catholics at Rome, and good subjects at home ; for if they be so, it must be only *durante bene placito*, as long as the Pope is well pleased, but if once he be angry with Kings and call 'em heretics, then have at 'em fowlers, let 'em look to themselves." Even Leslie writes : " The deposing doctrine and placing the power in the people is but the spittle of the Jesuits which our Whigs and Dissenters have picked up." ¹ He also declares, " Your mobs are all papists, they are for the deposing power, which is perfect popery." ² In *The Common Interest of King and People* we read that " Papal supremacy divests the prince of his absolute sovereignty, of his legislative power, and renders monarchy insecure of possession or succession, by bereaving it of the guard of the laws, of the strength of alliances, of the fidelity of their people. Papal supremacy (is) destructive of the people's liberty and property." ³ In that age uniformity in politics went hand in hand with uniformity in religion, for religion, as Louis and James showed, wore then a distinctly political complexion. " No king," wrote Jackson in a weighty treatise, " or prince by their (*i.e.* Roman Catholic) doctrine can truly be accounted a free man or denizen in the State wherein he lives, seeing no king can have so much as a voice or a suffrage in making those ecclesiastical canons, unto which he, his people, all his laws temporal and spiritual are subordinate and subject. For no man could think him to be a free-man in any corporation, that has no voice in making the

¹ *The Wolf stripped of his Shepherd's Clothing*, 4.

² *A Battle Royal*, 174.

³ Chap. vii.

temporal laws by which he is to be governed, or at least in choosing such of them as have interest in the making of Public laws.”¹ Toleration of the Roman Catholic religion was, he deemed, inconsistent with the safety of a Protestant state. The connection between such a creed and its effects upon life are indicated in Falkner’s *Christian Loyalty*, where we are told that “this pretence of the King’s authority against his person was hatched under the Roman territories and made use of in the holy League of France.”²

The influence of Louis XIV. on the destinies of Ireland is not exhausted by the active help he sent from 1688 to 1691, and by the privateers he subsequently employed. Was it not Louis himself who had traced in outline the pattern which was copied only too accurately by the rulers of Ireland when they devised the penal laws? If the English held that Roman Catholicism was somewhat political, he and his fellow-sovereign James certainly gave that belief a marked justification. They perceived in Louis’s imperialist spirit and in his Gallican Church the two great enemies, indeed the one great enemy,—for Louis was the Church as much as he was the State,—of their nationality. The final cause, for example, of the downfall of Port Royal was not doctrinal heterodoxy, not even Jesuit hostility to a rival and a more elevating ideal, but the absolutism of Gallicanism incarnate. It was the will of Louis far more than any other cause which produced this result. What he disliked and dreaded was the unworldliness of Port Royal, which presumed to possess a piety so unlike the strange substitute for religion in his mind. With the suspiciousness of the true tyrant, he scented conspiracy where there was nothing but devotion, and persecuted Port Royal in exactly the same spirit as a Tory squire might have persecuted a Methodist preacher in the eighteenth century.

The history of Port Royal is in fact the counterpart of the story of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Lord Acton has pointed out in his Lectures that the Huguenots

¹ *Treatise of Christian Obedience—Works*, iii. 909.

² P. 356.

were persecuted not in the least in the interests of the Roman Catholic religion, but purely and simply in those of the more modern doctrine of State uniformity.¹ It was exactly the same spirit—the dread of a society which had not the regal tone—which inspired the ridiculous interrogatories, the petty and absurd punishments, which, lasting through nearly fifty years, give a better example of the character and method of Louis's government than does the devastation of the Palatinate or the policy of the *réunions*. We have seen that the tracts and pamphlets, the sermons and discourses of the day, teem with references to the enormous evils of the deposing power of the Pope. These views are not in any wise confined to the preachers and teachers, the pamphleteers and writers, for they hold sway over the statesmen of the period. Everywhere in the correspondence of Archbishop King we find references to this doctrine. Roman Catholics must not be oppressed, he holds, but, because of their political views, they must be held in subjection. They cannot hold any office, for they might betray their trust to the Pope. Personal liberty they must possess, he maintains in a thesis; political liberty they must not possess.² Since they refused to give guarantees of their loyalty, they were properly excluded from the full benefits of citizenship. On the 18th of January 1697, for example, he wrote to Mr. Griffith to ascertain the number of Roman Catholics in his parish, their age, their qualifications, and especially their behaviour; if the last was satisfactory the laws were not to be put in operation against them.³ On the 12th of April 1698, he wrote to Mr. E. Cary: "I received a letter from you about a parish priest whether he may stay, having exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction by consent of his fellow-priests.

¹ The persecution of the early Christians by the Roman Empire is a parallel case.

² "From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, and a spirit of domination, and not a bigoted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up these statutes. I am sure I have known those who have oppressed Papists in their civil rights exceedingly indulgent to them in civil ceremonies, and who really wished them to continue Catholics, in order to furnish pretences for oppression. These persons never saw a man (by converting) escape out of their power but with grudging and regret" (Burke, *On the Penal Laws against Irish Catholics—Works*, iv. 505). Bonn, ii. 167: "A list of the Catholic clergy shows that of 1080, only 31 abjured the Pretender."

³ King MSS., T.C.D.

I understand he took on him to divorce people and dissolve marriage, which if true I cannot say what favour he may expect, those being acts of jurisdiction of great consequence and highly against the laws in being. I desire therefore to be informed of this point before I say anything in his favour to the government."¹ When this ecclesiastical statesman finds in his diocese worthy Roman Catholics, he asks the rector of the parish in which they dwell to see that they are not overburdened. The Protestant squire may hold the property of such in his own name but for their benefit, and he censures severely a landlord who in such a position of trust used the land for his own purposes.² These tolerant actions were in no wise confined to King. Rulers like Lord Sidney tried to put them in force too. A state paper on the Popish clergy of Ireland, 1697, affords the strongest possible evidence in this matter.³ The list enumerates 838 secular clergy, and 389 regular; there are three bishops, one in Cork, one in Galway, and one in Waterford. Of course the existence of these bishops is winked at, not legally permitted. It is self-evident that if England had persecuted *qua* Roman Catholics her clearest way to end the days of the Church in Ireland was to allow no bishops to remain there to exercise their functions. If there was no bishop there could be no ordination, if there was no ordination there could be no priest.⁴ That the penal laws were not due

¹ King MSS., T.C.D.

² Bonn, ii. 169: "If only Catholicism, taking advantage of the denationalisation of the planters, had put forth its proselytising powers and enlarged the small quota of land still owned by its followers—then the power of the Catholics would have increased to a dangerous degree. Fear of this was the chief reason which led to the penal laws." *Ibid.* ii. 174: "The Irish Penal Laws must in reality be condemned as political legislation aimed against the accumulation of power in the hands of the enemies of the Government."

³ Add. 17,406 (Brit. Mus.).

⁴ Klopp, vii. 474-475: "You must know," said Auersperg to Portland, "so much of our religion that we, when Bishops are missing, cannot have any more priests." Portland replied that some bishops would be allowed to journey to Ireland to consecrate priests. Klopp, viii. 204-205: The religious orders, according to Methuen, live only on alms and the nation is too poor for that. "Further, these orders work day and night against the Government. Accordingly the orders cannot be tolerated. But on the other hand no clerical dignitary, shall be exiled, still less shall divine service be hindered." Count Auersperg sent the news of this communication immediately to the bishops in Ireland and to Rome. Hoffmann, Aug. 21, 1698, reports that two priests who had been imprisoned finally escaped to France to the relief of the Government. He tells how William had paid in such cases for lodging and food abundantly while they were in custody, and even allowed prisoners out accompanied by a warder (Klopp, viii. 210).

to merely theological antipathies is the conclusion to which one is forced by a careful study of contemporary records. There is evidence converging from all sides that Roman Catholicism was hampered because it was political, and this conclusive evidence comes from sermon and address, tract and pamphlet, newspaper and broadsheet, book and treatise ; it above all comes from private correspondence and state paper. These letters were meant for the friend whose eye read them, the papers for the men who ruled the land ; they were not meant for the public at large, and we may reasonably infer that they exhibit the true motives governing the men who penned them. No doubt archbishops and bishops often helped to enforce the penal laws, and this has given them a religious appearance, which does not accord with the actual circumstance of their origin. They lasted nominally for over a hundred years and they left behind them a legacy of bitterness which it may yet take many generations to get rid of, and they were unhappily instrumental in marring the progress of Ireland. Yet it ought to help to mitigate religious animosities when it is seen that the penal laws were really due not to the Church of Ireland as such, but to the fear of the Government that its authority, and therefore its guarantee of stability or even of existence, was being threatened by the claims of Rome.

M. Tarde has shown the decisive power of imitation in legislation, and Mr. Lecky supplies him with an apt illustration when he maintains that the penal laws "were largely modelled after the French legislation against the Huguenots."¹ Here again we see the all-pervasive influence of the French king. It was by his action that the suspicions of the ordinary Englishman were turned into bitter certainties. For they saw that after the death of Mazarin in 1661 there was little hope of the existence of

¹ Lecky, i. 137 ; cf. his *Essays*, 73 : "Persecution in Ireland never approached in severity that of Louis XIV., and was absolutely insignificant compared with that which had extirpated Protestantism and Judaism from Spain. The code, however, was not mainly the product of religious feeling, but of policy." Charlemont, Flood, and Parsons "argued that at the close of a long period of savage civil war it was absolutely necessary for a small minority . . . to deprive the conquered and hostile majority of every element of political and military strength."

the Huguenots being connived at. Louis laid down that the Edict of Nantes was to be interpreted by the strictest letter of the law, a precedent not forgotten by Irish rulers. But he gradually passed from the plan of conversion by persuasion or court favour to the plan of conversion by dragoons.¹ He looked upon the Huguenots as bad citizens forming, "a state within a state," guilty of disorder, revolt, warfare at home, disloyal alliances abroad. They were not allowed to use Marot's version of the Psalms, even at family prayers. Children, when from five to seven years of age, were asked to renounce legally their Huguenot father and mother.² When they declared themselves Roman Catholics they could demand an allowance from their parents, and the effects of this upon parental discipline can be easily imagined. Children might also be removed from their homes and placed in convents where they would be instructed in Roman Catholicism—a precedent which prepared the way for the Charter Schools of Ireland. Protestant churches were closed—eighty in one diocese alone—and, to the horror of staunch Huguenots, their endowments were employed for the furtherance of objects dear to the Roman Catholic heart.³ The priest was authorised to enter the room of the dying and to urge them to abjure their religion.⁴ Huguenot children were forbidden the better schools, and were permitted to attend only the petty schools, where they were taught merely to read, write, and cipher.⁵

¹ The Caisse des Conversions dates from Nov. 1676. In three years' time the number of abjurations that had been brought totalled 10,000, and from 1682, the year of the first Dragonnade, to 1688, it reached 58,130. The price of a convert was about eight francs. On measures against the relapsed, see the *Déclaration du Roy du 13 mars, 1679*. See the instructions of Louvois to Marillac, Mar. 18, 1681. Cf. Michel, *Louvois et les Protestants*, pp. 49-54. See the despatch of Louis to Boufflers, July 31, 1685.

² The Royal Declaration of Oct. 24, 1665; *Édits, Déclarations, et Arrêts*, 12, 13. Cf. Order of Council, Aug. 28, 1676; the law of June 20, 1665; the preamble of the law of Mar. 13, 1679; the law of June 17, 1681.

³ According to Schickler, ii. 271, out of 813 churches Louis demolished 577 between the years 1660 and 1684. Benoist, v. 735, makes the decrease somewhat greater.

⁴ *Déclaration du Roi du 2 avril 1666*, qui règle les choses que doivent observer ceux de la R.P.R.; the law of Feb. 1, 1669, modified it. See the Royal Declaration of Nov. 19, 1680.

⁵ On the attempts to exclude Huguenots from trade cf. Orders in Council, Aug. 21, 1665; Mar. 24, 1661; May 15, 1663; Aug. 17, 1680; July 9, 1681; Sept. 29, 1682. Cf. Orders of the Parliament of Rouen, July 13, 1665; July 15, 1664.

No books in defence of Protestantism were suffered by the royal censor to be printed. A debtor, by the act of becoming a Roman Catholic, gave a receipt of payment for his debt to a heretic.¹ The intermarriage of Protestants with Roman Catholics was forbidden. Till the days of the French Revolution, that is, for over a hundred years, the marriages of Huguenots were illegal. In 1681 the King informed his people that it was a mistake to think that he disliked the ill-treatment of Huguenots, and the broad hint was soon acted upon. Driven to desperation by these measures, they revolted in the south; in 1683 and 1684 there were disturbances in the Cevennes, in Dauphiny, in the Vivarais.² Before the sword of the soldier and the blade of the executioner hundreds bowed their heads in death. Louvois suggested that soldiers might be billeted upon those who obstinately refused to change their religion, and conversion by lodgings, as he styled his plan, was added to the other methods of securing conviction. Many poor men, who had hitherto held out, changed their religion when they saw the daily insult and outrage offered to their wives and children. The effect of the dragonnades was so terrible that the city of Nîmes was converted within four-and-twenty hours.³ After an existence of eighty-seven years the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked on the 18th of October 1685. The public celebration of Protestant worship was absolutely forbidden; all pastors must leave the realm in fifteen days; they were doomed to the galleys for life if they dared to officiate again. When the ministers all departed the Church must come to an end.⁴

¹ Order of the King in Council, Nov. 18, 1680; modified by an Arrest du Conseil, du 16 décembre 1686.

² *Mémoires de Cosnac*, ii. pp. 115-117; *Benoist*, v. 645-667.

³ Cf. *Mémoires de Foucault*, pp. 118-120. Foucault mentions that more than 600 persons in 5 towns were converted "on the simple news that the companies of soldiers were coming." See Foucault to Croissy, July 14, 1685, in *Mémoires*, pp. 159-160; Louvois to Foucault, July 1685. On July 31, 1685, Louvois wrote to Foucault: "Sa Majesté a chargé M. de Croissy de vous adresser les ordres nécessaires pour fair exiler ceux des gentilshommes qui vous paroîtront les plus appliqués à empêcher les religionnaires de se convertir." Cf. Louvois to Foucault, Oct. 16, 1685; Nov. 1685; Louvois to Beaupré, Nov. 17, 1685; Louis to Avaux, Sept. 20, 1685.

⁴ Cf. Orders of Council, Oct. 3, 1663; June 30, 1664; June 16, 1681; Arrest du Conseil, du 24 novembre 1681, concernant le nombre des ministres de la R.P.R. All

All children were to be brought up as Roman Catholics. With no ministers and with no hope of more adherents the heretical faith must speedily die out. All emigrants were obliged to return on pain of the forfeiture of their goods and chattels; severe punishments, even that of death, were meted out to those who might think of escaping to another land. If an informer ascertained that a Huguenot was contemplating flight, he was rewarded with half his property. In spite of all precautions, probably five hundred thousand left France, and according to Voltaire, "the French were as widely dispersed as the Jews." Those who remained behind were watched with suspicious eyes. If they reverted to the faith of their fathers they were burnt alive; if they refused to receive the consecrated wafer at the hour of death, burial was denied them and their remains were thrown into the public sewers.

This outline of what was going on in France bears very directly upon subsequent events in Ireland. It was a commonplace of the time that, even yet, Louis would strike another blow at William in Ireland; and as regards the persecutions in France, had they not seen on the faces of refugees the scars of bitter suffering? They who in England or Ireland heard news of the activity of the French privateers on the British coasts, or of the ruthlessness with which French Protestants were harried by the power of Louis, were in no mood for fine discrimination or even for just judgment. To them, did not the one speak of an urgent danger calling for unceasing vigilance, and the other indicate what Irish Protestants might expect, if the most Christian king, or his satellite, should secure dominion over Ireland? The vast collection of Haliday pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy testify in the clearest possible manner to the feelings of indignation roused by the decrees of Louis XIV. against the Huguenots. The pamphlet entitled "An Account of the Perse-

converted ministers were to receive an annual stipend larger by one-third than they had received before. Those that refused to become Roman Catholics were obliged to leave France within 15 days from the publication of the edict, and in the meantime were neither to preach nor perform any other ministerial function on pain of the galleys.

cutions and Oppressions of the Protestants in France,"¹ is a typical one. The writer surveys the methods employed: "To take every notice of the chief of them; which were, First, Law Suits in Courts of Justice. Secondly, Deprivations from all kind of Offices and Employs; and in general, of all ways of subsistence. Thirdly, The infraction of Edicts, under the notion of Explications of them. Fourthly, New Laws and Orders. Fifthly, Juggles and amusing tricks. Sixthly, The animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred against us. These are the most considerable means, which the persecutors have employed to attain their ends, during several years; I say during several years: for what they designed, being no easie matter, they needed therefore time, to order their Engines; not to take notice of their Traverses and Interruptions by forrain Wars; yet whose success have not a little contributed to encrease their Courage, and confirm them in the design which they had against us." The various classes of oppressions are then carefully noted. In ordinary affairs where litigation arose regarding a piece of land, a house, a debt, the Huguenot was met by the cry, "I plead against an Heretick, I have to do with a Man of a Religion odious to the State; and which the King would have extirpated." This insinuation of high-treason was sufficient for the judges, as few of them were strong enough to resist the charge of disloyalty—a charge sure to be preferred if a Huguenot happened to win the case. When the ministers were obliged to take an oath of allegiance, other and oppressive clauses were usually inserted. The account of the persecutions endured, terrible as it is, deserves transcription. "Amidst a thousand hideous cries, and a thousand blasphemies, they (*i.e.* the French Dragoons) hung Men and Women by the hair or feet on the Roofs of the Chamber, or Chimney-hooks, and smoak't them with whips of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it; and when they had taken them down, if they would not sign, they hung them up immediately again. They threw them into great Fires

¹ Box 102, tract 4; printed in Dublin in 1688.

kindled on purpose ; and pulled them not out till they were half roasted. They tyed Ropes under their Arms, and plunged them to and again into Wells, from whence they would not take them, till they had promised to change their Religion. They tyed them as they do Criminals, put to the question ; and in this posture, with a Funnel fill'd with Wine, poured it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it, depriving them of their Reason, they made them say they would consent to be Catholics. They stript them naked, and after having offered them a 1000 infamous Indignities, they stuck them with Pins from the top to the bottom. They cut them with Pen-knives, and sometimes with red hot Pincers took them by the Nose, and they dragged them about their Rooms, till they promised to become Catholics, or that the Cries of these poor Wretches, that in this condition call'd on God for his Assistance, constrained them to let them go. They beat them with Staves, and dragged them all bruised to the Churches ; where their bare forced Presence was accounted for an Abjuration. They held them from sleeping seven or eight days, relieving one another, to watch them Night and Day, and keep them waking. They threw Buckets of water on their Faces, and tormented them with a 1000 ways, holding over their Heads Kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual Noise, till these poor Creatures had even lost their Sences. If they found any Sick, either Men or Women, that kept their Beds, distempered with Feavers, or other Diseases, they had the Cruelty to bring twelve Drums sounding an Alarm about their Beds for whole Weeks together without Intermission, till they had promis'd they would change. It happened in some places, that they tyed Fathers and Husbands to the Bed-Posts, and before their Eyes, forced their Wives and Daughters. In another place, Rapes were publicly and generally permitted for many hours together. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of others ; which could not be indured without intollerable Pain. They burnt the Feet of others. They blew up Men and

Women with Bellows, even till they were ready to Burst."

The watcher on the hill, surveying the conflict, knows the meaning of each check, the value of each victory; while from those who fight in the plain, is often hidden the issue of the struggle and the significance of the part they play. The gain of the moment, a loss here, a stand-still there, is not placed in proper perspective for him who participates, and passing emotions become disproportionate to the occasions that call them forth. In similar fashion the historian, writing from "the vantage-ground of truth, a hill not to be commanded," finds it easy to be wise after the event, to point out that the naval attacks of Louis were spasmodic, ill-supported, and threatened no real danger to William's position in Ireland, that the hardships that were inflicted on the Huguenots were due to Louis's determination to be master in his own country rather than to any necessary connection between Roman Catholicism and the spirit of persecution. But the plain man of those days could only argue from what he saw, or rather from what he thought he saw, and it is little matter for surprise, that, living as he did, in an age intolerant in practice, if not always so in principle, he should magnify his vague alarms at Louis's schemes, exaggerate his dread of the power and influence of Rome, and that as the result of the fusion of ideas, he should be led to panic legislation against evils which loomed large before his fertile imagination.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE PENAL LAWS

ON the 26th June 1693, Queen Mary signed instructions for the Lords Justices of Ireland.¹ These corresponded in large measure with those given to Sidney when he began his rule, but where they differed they tended to take a sterner tone. Of these thirty heads of instructions not more than six, perhaps, are wholly new. Sidney's instructions had directed a better valuation of escheated land, but these specified that no value was to be certified till inquisition were made, and that custodiams might not be granted for more than three years. The rule, difficult to observe in practice, was laid down that when there are letters for disposing of money for public uses, and at the same time other letters for the payment of this money to particular individuals, "you shall prefer the public letters before the private." In order to ensure obedience to this principle no money order was to be issued unless accompanied by a petition which satisfied the Lords Justices, and this petition must further be referred to the Treasury in England for consideration. The Lords Justices were to recommend men worthy of promotion, and no buying and selling of employment, civil or military, was to be permitted. A purchaser, when discovered, was to be discharged from his office and prosecuted according to the law. No letters for grants of possession or titles were to be acted upon till they had been entered at the English Signet Office. That they might the better discharge the trusts reposed in them, the Queen declared that: 1° She

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 194-196 ; *Nairne Papers*, vol. vii. p. 25.

would not admit any particular complaint of injustice or oppression against any in Ireland, unless it appeared that the complainant had first made his address to them; 2° The places in the chief governor's gift should be left freely to their disposal; 3° No new office should be erected in Ireland till their opinion as to the same were taken; 4° No order for the payment of money should be given to the Receiver of Ireland but through them; and 5° No patent for granting money and lands should be passed in England without their knowledge. The Articles of Galway, Limerick, and other towns to be construed according to the strict meaning, not extending them further than "in justice and honour we are obliged to go." On the 13th of September Nottingham had written to Sidney: "I did not know that any favour was intended to the Papists of Ireland more than their Majesties are obliged, in justice, to allow them and is necessary for the peace of that country."¹ Combining these statements, we see that strict justice, untempered by mercy, was to be meted out to the Roman Catholics. The Lords Justices in Ireland, however, soon manifested less inclination to show them favour than the Queen and her councillors in London.

In the summer of 1693 the three Lords Justices—Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and William Duncombe—set about the arduous task of governing Ireland.² The need of money was most urgent, for the deficit amounted to £180,000 yearly, and, according to the Commissioners, there was little probability of the revenue improving.³ The good weather, in fact, brought down the high price of corn, and thus lessened the revenue.⁴ This pointed to the summoning of Parliament, but when assembled the House of Commons was almost certain to insist on its sole right of introducing money bills. Just as Sidney had tried to negotiate a loan of £30,000 from Mr. Elnathan Lunn, so they approached Sir Stephen Evans and his partners

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1691-92, Sept. 13, 1692, 447.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, July 27; Capel to the King, 237.

³ *S.P., Dom.*, King William's Chest, 14, No. 29.

⁴ *Add.* 21,136 (*Brit. Mus.*); *Southwell Correspondence*.

for exactly the same amount.¹ Further, Capel, like Sidney, sounded the leading men, and ascertained from them that if Parliament met it would probably grant considerable supplies, and would not meddle with the question of the origin of money bills.² He was fortified in his opinion by the fact that the English judges held that the right of the Crown to send such Bills into the House of Commons was founded upon law and constant practice.³ It was the intention of William to summon a new Parliament shortly after the arrival of the Lords Justices.⁴ This rendered it necessary that some Bills should be annexed to the Commission empowering Capel and his colleagues to hold a Parliament. As the Bills lately transmitted to London related to the old Parliament, and therefore could not be affixed to the commission for holding a new one, the Queen ordered three or four of the Bills submitted for her consideration to be transcribed and annexed to the commission. The Bill for the additional excise was one of the contemplated measures. The Lords Justices found themselves involved in a constitutional difficulty by the procedure suggested.⁵ Bills as drafted for transmission to England should normally have passed the Irish Privy Council and been engrossed.⁶ The Lords Justices had no power to send over Bills at all, otherwise any Bills returned by the English Privy Council with amendments had to go *de novo* through all the forms in Council, as Bills once engrossed were submitted without modification to the Irish Parliament for acceptance or rejection only. The question arose, Could a Bill originating in the fashion proposed by the Queen's Ministers be amended in the Irish Privy Council? If so, much time would be lost by the discussion of details, which would never have been inserted of the Council's own motion. But if not, there would be involved a violation of Poynings' Law, as interpreted by the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, chap. 4, which required that Bills should be initiated in the Irish Council

¹ Add. 21,136 (Brit. Mus.), *Southwell Correspondence*.

² C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1693, 237.

³ *Ibid.* 320.

⁴ *Ibid.* 188-189.

⁵ *Ibid.* 356-357; S.P., *Ireland*, 355, No. 95.

⁶ Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, i. The Crown, 221-222 (1896).

and thence transmitted under the Great Seal to the English Council for approval before being submitted to the Irish Parliament. From a legal standpoint, could a Bill framed in England, and submitted to the Irish Council, without liberty of alteration, be said to have originated in Dublin, as required by the statute, even though for form's sake it were passed by the Irish Privy Council? The Lords Justices did more than hint their answer to this question when they drew attention to the fact that Lord Massarene gave rise to grave comment by his action in promoting a Bill that came from England. They therefore proposed to send over two Bills for money, besides that for an additional excise. The remonstrance proved effectual.¹ Lord Nottingham explained that the drafts required from the Irish Council were not public acts; they were merely private papers, written that the English Privy Council might know the opinion of Capel and his colleagues on weighty matters, and that the latter should be informed of the deliberations taking place in London. The Queen's intention in submitting proposals was to prevent desultory debate and to save valuable time. She allowed the Council to alter any part of the drafts, and their right to consider these or other matters was not in any way curtailed.² As Capel gave one precedent Mary put forward another. Her method had been employed in the time of Charles II., and indeed in her own reign before Capel came into authority.

In accordance with their instructions the Lords Justices received the report of the proceedings of the commissioners who had inquired into the forfeited goods and chattels and the embezzled stores of war and provisions.³ The need for this Commission was evidenced by the fact that discoveries of concealed forfeitures to the value of £63,669 were made, and penalties amounting to £36,570 were imposed. Officials were appointed throughout the

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 356-357. The Lords Justices to Nottingham, Oct. 7 (two letters).

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, Oct. 17, Nottingham to the Lords Justices; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, I, 479.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, July, 241-243; Harding, *Transactions of the R.I.A.*, xxiv.

country for collecting the arrears of rent from forfeited property. In order to achieve these ends the commissioners had been granted special powers on the 25th of February 1693.¹ They had authority to summon all persons concerned and to punish for non-appearance; to call for any documents necessary for their information; to administer an oath; to reward or compound with informers; to settle accounts; to seize and sell all forfeited goods; to exact satisfaction from the estates of all embezzlers; and to pay all persons they employed. They were sworn to act without favour or affection, and were to receive every assistance from the Court of Exchequer and from the collectors of revenue. On the 2nd of September 1693 the authority of the commissioners received a large extension.² They were empowered to grant the discoverer of forfeited lands and goods the rents of the lands for seven years and a fourth part of the property he had brought to light. Of course grave abuses might arise from the fact that the commissioners seemed to be the only judges of what was forfeitable property and what was not.³ In order to remedy this evil it was laid down that they could not seize goods from persons before they were forfeited, in fact they were bound to act thereon not otherwise than by process of law. They were given power to inspect the forfeited estates both real and personal, but unfortunately no legal method was prescribed for the carrying out of this duty. They gave no security for the arrears they received, and in many cases the money never reached Dublin Castle. With the object of avoiding this danger in the future both Sidney and the Lords Justices arranged that the commissioners should them-

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1693, 45-46; S.P., *Dom.*, Signet Office, Letter Book, 12, 567.

² C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1693, 303-306; S.P., *Ireland*, 355, No. 87.

³ See Sir R. Cox to —, Nov. 25, 1699: "What is but common justice they may call favouring of the Irish, and a lessening of the forfeitures; and we can't help that. We gott nothing but trouble and censure by that Court of Clayms; and if the justice we adminstred there will distinguish us and preserve us from the destroying angell when he comes to punish the oppressions and perjuries, notorious and publick, committed against the claimants, it is all the reward we desire or expect for that service. . . . We consulted the Government and then told them, that it was not designed to give them any trouble who had no estates, and that such might go home. They answered no, and that they should be indicted whenever it pleased a malicious neighbour, unless they had their adjudications." *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2; Portland MSS., 611-612.

selves receive no moneys, but should give warrants to the Government collectors of revenue. Another source of corruption sprang from the fact that it was not stated whether the power to lease should be at the highest rent the land would yield, or whether a fine should be taken and the land let at a small rent. The regular and legal method of settling the forfeited lands deserves a brief notice.¹ The forfeiting persons were first attainted by outlawry or otherwise and then the records of the judgments or outlawries were removed by "certiorari" into Chancery, and from thence by "mittimus" into the Exchequer. Thereupon commissions might issue to find the lands, which are then to be set under the Exchequer Seal; or else commissions might issue under the Great Seal for such inquiries, in which case the inquisitions might be sent out of Chancery into the Exchequer; whereupon leases or custodians might be granted. Would-be tenants, desirous of having forfeited land, submitted to the secretary of the commissioners written tenders, together with the names of securities. Of course this meant that no one except the five commissioners knew who was the highest bidder, and the Crown might feel reasonably certain that the lands were not let to the best advantage. The time allotted for the work was not long enough. In fact the contracts were often made in Dublin, though the leases—to lend a colour to the transaction—were sealed in the country.²

In the interpretation of the Articles of Waterford the commissioners found trouble in deciding whether the word "property" in the article should apply to both realty and personalty.³ William declared that this word ought, according to the true meaning and signification thereof, to be construed as including both forms of property. Roman Catholics were therefore to enjoy the full benefit of the said article. Sidney remonstrated, pointing out that the value of the estates to be restored would be £1500 or £2000 a year.⁴ Lord Nottingham

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 305.

² *Bonn*, ii. 155.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 81-82, Mar. 23; *S.P., Ireland*, King's Letter Book, 1, 352.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 157-158, May 27, Sidney to Nottingham.

made the honourable reply that his Majesty "thought it best not to restrain that word to a narrower construction than the just and legal import of it."¹ The sense of fairness was shown in the treatment of a famous individual. On the 12th of July 1693 Sidney was directed to stay proceedings against Lady Tyrconnel.² Her husband having died in rebellion, had thereby forfeited his lands, and his widow lived in France without licence. Indeed, at Kilmainham quarter-sessions she had been indicted of high-treason, for in the time of the late troubles she had exceeded in activity most of her sex. The Lords Justices protested both to Lord Nottingham and to the Queen herself. "Lady Tyrconnel," they wrote, "has been so very remarkable here in her activity against their Majesties and the Protestant interest that 'every one's eye is watching what is done in her concern,' and people will make their conclusions accordingly."³ Others who had no title to claim relief would apply, and the Popish interest was not likely to be much weakened—so they urged—if so inveterate an enemy were permitted to enjoy her estate. To the Queen they wrote that she "acted against your Majesty, not with the duty of a wife to her husband, but with the malice of an open enemy, provoking him upon all occasions against the Protestants of this Kingdom; and when she could do no more mischief here, she fled into an enemy's country and continues there to this day, so that of whatever validity the deed of settlement may be . . . she has forfeited her interest by her own treason, as well as by her husband's."⁴ The Queen, replied Lord Nottingham on her behalf, had only ordered in Lady Tyrconnel's case what justice demanded, and "her Majesty will not deny justice to any of her subjects."⁵ In the trial of the case it came out that Lady Tyrconnel possessed much that one would now give a great deal to peruse, for she had taken with her to France "all the deeds, writings, and evidences relating to her husband."⁶

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, June 10, 176-177.

² *Ibid.* 223.

³ *Ibid.* 357, Oct. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 358, Oct. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.* 368, Oct. 17.

⁶ This may account for the wide dispersal of the correspondence of her husband; it has hampered me gravely in my work. Where, for example, is Tyrconnel's diary? I suspect that it is in Paris, but could not find it when working there.

The unrelenting hostility with which the necessity of acting against Lady Tyrconnel was pressed on the English authorities was but one example of the growing bitterness between the two great sections in Ireland. It has already been pointed out that the stern measures of repression directed against the Huguenots in France had served to strengthen the natural impulse of the enemies of France to retaliate, by aiming at those in Ireland, who were looked upon as little better than the secret confederates of Louis. They had also, to some degree, suggested the means by which a systematic and persistent attack could be made, in the interests of self-preservation, on those who were deemed notorious enemies of the State. The angry passions of men are more easily roused than calmed, and, after Sidney's recall, those at the helm in Ireland recked little of the stormy waters into which they were bent on steering the ship of State. Intolerance, largely prompted by political exigencies, becomes by indulgence an animating principle, much as infirmity of temper, beginning as a disease, passes into a vice. "I did not know," concludes the Earl of Nottingham, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant dated the 13th of September 1692, "that any favour was intended to the Papists of Ireland more than their Majesties are obliged, in justice, to allow them, and is necessary for the peace of that country."¹ The strict letter of the law had been meted out to the Huguenot in France, and the same treatment was to be observed to the Roman Catholic in Ireland. Mercy he might not hope for, and even justice, when he was concerned, was to be limited to the narrowest. William and his English counsellors leaned towards toleration, but such a thought was far from the minds of the rulers of Ireland. They appointed a committee, composed of five laymen and one bishop, to consider what ought to be done with the regular priests in Ireland.² The committee, in examining the historical evidence, found that in 1673 Charles II. had ordered all titular Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, abbots, "all others exercising

¹ C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1691-92, 447.

² C.S.P., *Dom.*, 1693, 9-10.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction by an authority derived from the Pope or the See of Rome in this kingdom," as well as regular priests, to depart from Ireland. As this proclamation was not strictly enforced, another in 1674, and two others in 1678 were also issued. "We are of opinion," reports the committee on the 11th of January 1691, "that the great number of the said popish archbishops, bishops and regular clergy now in Ireland and exercising foreign jurisdiction, tends to the disturbance of the peace, and is against the laws and statutes of this kingdom, and there is great reason to issue out a proclamation, like the former proclamation, requiring the said bishops and clergy in some convenient time to depart out of Ireland, under penalty of being prosecuted with the utmost severity."¹

In accordance with this important report William agreed to put forth a proclamation directing their departure.² As no orders reached Ireland, Sidney made inquiry of Nottingham, and was informed that though the King had begun the draft of a proclamation he had suspended all action in the matter, and on the 13th of June 1693 he refused to issue it.³ The refusal may have been due to the short but able review drawn up in 1693 of the grievances and oppressions under which the Roman Catholics suffered despite the articles of Limerick and Galway.⁴ These deserve careful examination, for they give a Roman Catholic view of the treatment received. The vanquished complain that they did not receive possession of their lands till each of them entered into a recognizance of £1000 with their Majesties that they should fully and truly perform and observe the articles. Moreover, they could not sue for goods or arrears of rent due to them from the 16th of April 1689 to the 2nd of November 1691, yet they might be sued for the same during this period; in fact some of them had been imprisoned for debts contracted at that time. For proof of title the Lords Justices had compelled them to attend a

¹ *S.P., Ireland*, 355, No. 4.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 162, 179.

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 51.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1693, 443-445.

second costly trial in 1692, when they were required to produce the testimony of three credible witnesses, one of whom must be a Protestant. Osborne, the prime sergeant in Ireland, in spite of the favourable opinion of all the King's counsel in England, doubted if Roman Catholics were entitled to any leases for years. They were now asked to enter into another recognizance of £1200. By the fifth article they were to have their outlawries reversed free, save for the fees of the clerks who engrossed them, but about £30 for the reversal of each outlawry was demanded from them. As some of them had been three and four times outlawed they were unable to reverse their outlawries for want of means, yet the King's Bench imprisoned them for not doing so. They accused Colonel John Browne of so manipulating the thirteenth article by sinister and indirect means that they were bound, before they obtained an order of adjudication or of reversal of their outlawries, to enter into a bond for the payment of a year's quit rent of each claimant's estate to Browne's Protestant creditors. Though the seventh article allowed a nobleman and a gentleman comprised in the second and third articles to ride with a sword and case of pistols, and to keep a gun for the defence of their house or for fowling, yet such privileges were denied them, and even their plough horses were seized. From the 24th of December previous the men comprehended in the articles and the protected persons had been imprisoned for three or four weeks without any cause being assigned. Besides, the Roman Catholics had been compelled to maintain the army in free quarters during the winter of 1691 and the spring of 1692. Where the officers and soldiers did not obtain comfortable lodgings they extorted money from the inhabitants, and compelled them to sign acknowledgments that they had honestly paid for their quarters. The Roman Catholics charged Colonel J. Eyres, Governor of County Galway, with raising five troops of dragoons, each composed of 46 privates, 3 corporals, 2 sergeants, and a drummer, at a cost to them of £3120, besides the subsistence of eighteen pence a day. As the Protestants

were either commissioners of array or officers, the sole expense of these troops fell upon the Roman Catholics. That they suffered from acts of oppression was evidenced by this memorandum, but relief was denied them, because of the dangers arising from the French privateers, and because of the news that constantly came of conspiracies. These gave rise to much alarm, and that of March 1695 in particular injured them greatly.¹ In June 1695 the Privy Council discussed the disarming of all Papists, but allowed the Chief Governor discretionary power to grant a few licences to them to bear arms.

For Capel was now sole Governor of Ireland. Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncombe had fallen into disfavour, and in May 1695 their colleague, Capel, was appointed Lord Deputy and Chief Governor of Ireland. Though not given the title, he was given all the powers of a Lord Lieutenant, saving the disposal of commissions in the army. William allowed him to make some changes in the officials, though he desired to have as few changes as possible.² He indicated his intention of summoning a Parliament shortly. On the 5th of May 1695 Capel received his voluminous instructions from Kensington; these are arranged under thirty-four heads.³ They deal with the filling of vacant livings, the conduct of the judges, the collection of revenue, the muster of the army and its proper quartering, the settling of the militia, the suppression of duels, the surveying of castles and magazines, the valuation of escheated lands, the improvement of trade, the transport of wool, the encouragement of Protestant strangers, and sundry other matters. The 28th and 30th clauses strike the keynote of Capel's administration. The former runs thus: "You are to take care that the Articles granted to Galway, Limerick, or any other place, upon their surrender, be construed according to their strict meaning upon all questions or

¹ *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 405; *S.P.*, *Ireland*, 357, No. 12.

² *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 481-482: Sir Richard Pyne became Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench; Sir John Hely, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; Robert Doyne, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland; Nehemiah Donelan, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer; Robert Rochfort, Attorney-General; Allen Broderick, Solicitor-General.

³ *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 455-459.

doubts which may arise, without allowing any favour to the persons comprehended in them, or extending them further than in justice and honour you are obliged to do.”¹ The latter runs thus: “The King, by several proclamations issued while he was in Ireland, having required all Papists to bring in their arms into the stores, you are to inform yourself what has been done in pursuance of those proclamations and to take care that the same be duly executed so that no Papist there, except those that are permitted by the capitulation granted to any town or place that surrendered, may be suffered to keep any arms or powder without licence from the King or you; and you are to endeavour to prevent all abuses in misconstruing the extent of those capitulations, and to restrain, as much as may be, all such concessions of keeping arms.”¹ It may be easily comprehended that the Parliament would find itself in closer agreement with a Lord Deputy, bound in this wise, than it was with his more broad-minded predecessor. For with the policy thus imposed upon him Capel was in sympathy, being a zealous Whig, ill-disposed to toleration.

On the 21st of May 1695 the English Lords Justices desired Capel to prepare such Bills as he conceived should be brought forward, and he accordingly did so.² Most of them were transcripts of English Acts, and their approbation was expected to be little more than a formality.³ But for two Bills he expressed eager solicitude; one was for disarming the Papists, and the other for restraining their resort to foreign seats of learning.⁴ The former would, he conceived, secure the Protestant interest, and the latter the Protestant religion. In his letter Capel

¹ *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 459.

² *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 475.

³ *C.S.P.*, 1694-95, 500.

⁴ On these measures see Count Carlingford's letter, Sept. 14, 1695, to the Jesuit Menegatti, the Emperor's Confessor, Klopp, vii. 134. The Imperial Council directed Count Auersperg to express its views on the matter to William. See Auersperg's report, Nov. 8, 1695: “I expressly say that I have only those Catholics in view who by reason of the Treaty of Limerick demand the free exercise of their religion and that I do not intercede for those who use religion as a cloak for conspiracy.” Cf. Shrewsbury's answer to this report; Auersperg's report, Nov. 25, 29, Dec. 2, 23, 1695. Trumbull, the Secretary of State, announced to Auersperg: “The King has suppressed all acts of the Irish Parliament with regard to Catholics. Announce this to the Emperor and add that at his intervention the King will do all he can to improve the condition of the Catholics.”

indicated his fears that the Irish would oppose them, for they would prevent future rebellions, and he was afraid that some Protestants in Parliament might second their efforts. His gravest anxiety, however, was respecting the question of the origin of money bills. On this point there had been a sharp difference of opinion between himself and his colleagues in the middle of 1694. In a letter written to the Secretary of State by Wyche and Duncombe they pointed out that the needs of the revenue and the necessity of new laws rendered the meeting of Parliament highly desirable. They feared, however, that the members would insist upon their sole right of originating money bills. They had consulted both members and judges, and their conclusion was "that we generally find men as stiff as ever, and as resolved, if not to pursue the point and maintain it, yet not to retract and give it up. . . . My lord Capel is sanguine enough to believe that the chief assertors of this right are ashamed of it and will certainly give it over, . . . they aim not only at the immediate consequence of this right (if it be one) the having no bills sent them which any way bring a charge upon the people ; but at the endeavour of having many other laws, which will deserve a great deal of consideration before they pass. Some speak of putting in hard for the House Corporation Act, and yet would have it exclusive to all Papists : some think it necessary that the Bill of Rights should be made a law here too, though the twelfth clause declares a standing army in times of peace (without which this country cannot subsist, nor ever has) to be against the law ; and there are some too who would have a general Act, in imitation of that of Henry the Seventh's time, to make all the laws of England, made since that time, laws of this kingdom : and some do not stick to say in express terms that a law made in England does not bind Ireland, though made with that intent."¹ From this pessimistic account we turn to Capel's optimistic letter of the same date. He, too, gives reasons for the summoning of Parliament, but he adds details which his

¹ Add. 21,136 (Brit. Mus.).

colleagues omit. There is an arrear of £180,000 in the civil and military lists since January 12, 1692: the general officers of the army, the officers of the ordnance, the governors of the forts and garrisons are unpaid. Though the revenue is growing, the charge of the establishment exceeds it by at least £60,000 a year. "The Kingdom is not in a fit posture of defence, and should the enemy land with a small number of men, upon any part of the west coast, we should find great difficulty to suppress them, and the Irish (who were never more insolent in those parts) will be ready upon any opportunity to join with them."¹

Besides the two Bills he had already proposed, he notes others as desirable additions to the statute book. Among these are Bills to prohibit the Papists from keeping horses above £5 in value or more than thirteen and a half hands high, to promote the capture of tories, the observance of particular holy days and no other, the rebuilding and the repairing of the churches, "most of the parishes in this kingdom either having no church at all, or if any, out of repair and not fit to celebrate Divine service, which causes many to depart from our communion, and this their separation may justly be imputed in great measure to the non-residence of the clergy, and a total failure to do their duty in very many parts of the kingdom."² Capel goes on to point out that eminent lawyers and leading men profess to think there will be no heat in the Parliament about to be summoned, though some of the Privy Council and the judges think differently. He insinuates that those who dissent from his views do so because a Parliament may have prejudicial effects upon their private interests. He expresses his fears that more troubles may arise from the articles of Limerick than from the money bill question. Members will dispute the first article because it establishes the Popish religion. Some also will object to the sixth, for they say that where horses, cattle, money, and other goods were taken in pursuance of military

¹ Add. 21,136 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Ibid.*

or civil orders, the persons concerned ought to be pardoned, but where they seized these for their own private advantage they should be held answerable to those injured.

The year 1695 witnessed the private circulation of a "Discourse concerning the securing the Government of the Kingdom of Ireland to the interest of the English nation."¹ It is evidently in the handwriting of one of the Southwell family, and its proposals merit careful attention. From an English standpoint it embodies an ably-planned scheme for increasing the number of Protestants and decreasing that of Papists, though "not by a vigorous compelling, excessive fines and imprisonments, an ungodly destroying, persecution for conscience' sake," such as that which existed in France. He suggests that profaneness should be suppressed, that Protestants should use public benevolence carefully, that they should allow able men to enter the service of foreign princes, that they should transport to the Colonies lazy vagabond men and intermarry them with English women, that they should levy a double tax on all absolute Papists and remit it when they turn Protestant, and that—after the example of France—they should bring up all children left as a charge on the public purse in the English tongue and under the care of English Protestants. The tone of the whole discourse suggests that the author dislikes Roman Catholicism not for doctrinal reasons, but for political. He proceeds to "shew in what subjection and servitude they (*i.e.* the Irish) ought to be kept, whereby both rich and poor, noble and ignoble, might for ever be wholly incapacitated for disturbing the English Government more." Like the Egyptian king of old, he is distressed to learn that the Irish are increasing in numbers. He hints at the subtilty of the Jesuits, for he holds all the usual seventeenth-century notions of the part they played in politics. He proceeds in this connection to "consider the power and the potency of the French king both in men and money, and what an affinity there is betwixt those people and the French upon the score of their religion and the sake of the

¹ Add. 28,724 (Brit. Mus.).

late King James, what may we conceive might be the issue of this, could that King but make up a peace with the rest of his neighbours and were at leisure only to attend upon an English war." For reasons of statecraft he would lessen the Roman Catholics in their language and in their use of Irish names. "Though I do confess myself utterly against persecution for conscience' sake, yet considering the principles of the Irish Papists, together with their inhuman butcherly actions in 1641 and the blood and treasure that both then and now again have, and is like yet further to be spent and spilt in its fuller reducement, together with the devastations and ruins which either themselves or through their occasions have been so often made in that Kingdom, and what encouragement they give to restless spirits at home and other mortal enemies of the Protestant religion abroad ; and all this and much more still proceed from the wicked principles of their irreligious religion ; for these and the like reasons it seems not only reasonable, but even just and equitable, to endeavour as much as in us lies by all reasonable and prudent ways the prevention of the like evils for the future." The plan of enlisting them for the Empire or Venice strikes him as a solution of the difficulty of disposing of the old Jacobite soldiers. "If they refuse to enter for the service, impress them with money thereunto : allow none to return : because of the risk of their stirring up rebellion." If Louis were impressed by the duration of the 1641 rising, so were William's advisers, and they have continually before their eyes the dread of a fresh outbreak. In imitation of the French plan of checking conversion to Protestantism, this Southwell proposes the milder method of declaring such apostates as the common enemies of the kingdom.

From the theories of Southwell we pass to the practice of Capel. The governing officials surveyed with watchful eyes the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to sit in the Parliament that met on the 27th of August 1695. A broadsheet has been preserved with crosses prefixed to the names—167 in number—of those

hostile to the Lord Chancellor and the Government, and strokes against the names of III regarded as friendly.¹ There are no marks before fourteen names, and in some cases strokes have been substituted for crosses, evidently suggesting that the member had been approached by an official. The Commons, it was ascertained, were prepared to pass by the question of the origin of money bills, and in return for this favour were to be gratified by the introduction of repressive measures against the Roman Catholics.² Robert Rochfort, a son of an officer of Cromwell's, and Alan Brodrick became Attorney and Solicitor-General respectively; the former was also elected Speaker of the new House of Commons. These two officials rendered Capel powerful support in the delicate task of managing Parliament. The compliant Commons voted an additional excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors.³ Since "no Parliament could or ought to be holden within this kingdom, unless by their Majesties' authority," it was agreed that the Parliament of James II. was a rebellious assembly, and its acts were declared null and void.⁴ That no memorial might remain among the records of Parliament, all its acts, writs, and proceedings were brought before the chief governors at the council chamber and publicly cancelled. The two most dangerous questions, the origin of money bills and the confirmation of the Articles of Limerick, were left untouched.

By Acts of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth every incumbent had been obliged to open a school for the learning of English and Latin.⁵ These Acts had not been enforced, but now the judges and the justices of the peace

¹ I. 6, 9 (*Southwell Correspondence*, T.C.D.).

² On the Irish Parliament the *Ellis Papers* are useful (Brit. Mus.). Add. 28,951 deals with 1695-1698, and Add. 28,952 with 1698-1705.

³ 7 Will. III. c. 1.

⁴ 7 Will. III. c. 3.

⁵ Cf. 1 James I. 4 (Eng.); 3 Charles I. 3 (Eng.); 2 Anne 6; 19 George II. 7; 1 George III. 12; 28 Henry VIII. 15; 12 Eliz. 1. On Schools, cf. Arrest du Conseil, du 9 juillet 1681, pour l'exécution et suppression du Collège, ou Académie de ceux de la R.P.R. établis à Sedan; Arrest du Conseil, du 11 janvier 1683; Arrest du Conseil, du 2 juillet 1685; Édit du Roy, du mois d'octobre 1685. The decree of July 2, 1685, and the edict of October 1685 suppressed all Huguenot schools. Clause VII. of the latter runs thus: "Défendons les Écoles particulières pour l'instruction des enfans de ladite R.P.R. et toutes les choses généralement quelconques, qui peuvent marquer une concession, quelle que ce puisse être, en faveur de ladite Religion."

were requested to charge the grand juries to carry them into due effect. Having made some slight attempt to provide schools at home, an Act was passed in restraint of foreign education. "Whereas many of the subjects of this kingdom," it stated, "have accustomed themselves to send their children and other persons under their care,¹ into France and Spain, and other foreign parts, not under his Majesty's obedience, to be educated, instructed, and brought up; by means and occasion whereof, the said children and other persons have in process of time engaged themselves in foreign interests, and been prevailed upon to forget their natural duty and allegiance due from them to the Kings and Queens of this realm, and the affection which they owe to the established religion and laws of this their native country, and returned so civilly disposed into this Kingdom, have been, in all times past, the movers and promoters of many dangerous seditions, and oftentimes of open rebellion," it was enacted that any one who went himself, or sent any one beyond the seas, conveyed or sent money for their maintenance or as charity for relief of a religious house, should forfeit his civil rights.² Such a man could not sue in law or equity; he could not be guardian, executor, or administrator; he could not take a legacy or deed of gift or bear office, and he was liable to the forfeiture of his goods and lands for life.³ A justice of the peace upon information of the

¹ On Children, cf. Déclaration du Roy, du premier février 1669. Clause XXXIX. declares that, "enfants issus des mariages mixtes, ou dont l'un des parents serait relaps, seront élevés dans la religion catholique"; Déclaration du Roy, du 12 juillet 1685, portant que les enfans dont les pères seront morts dans la R.P.R., et dont les mères seront Catholiques, seront élevés en la Religion Catholique, avec défenses de leur donner des Tuteurs de la R.P.R.; Édit du Roy, du mois d'octobre 1685 decrees that "enfants nés de parents de la R.P.R. seront baptisés et élevés Catholiques"; Édit du Roy, du mois de janvier 1686 orders that Huguenot children "âgés de cinq à seize ans seront confiés à leurs aïeuls, oncles ou autres parents Catholiques." Cf. Arrest du Conseil, du 2 août 1704; Édit du Roy, du mois de juillet 1705; Lettre du Roy, du 2 mai 1686; Ordonnance de M. l'Intendant du Dauphiné, du 10 janvier 1689.

² 7 Will. III. c. 4. Klopp (vii. 147) says that the losses of the English merchants through French privateers in 1696 were particularly great. The English East India Company had just lost several richly laden ships, the Dutch Company had not lost one.

³ Cf. Arrest du Conseil, du mois de novembre 1679, portant défense aux juges de la R.P.R. de rendre la justice; Arrest du Parlement, du 23 août 1680, qui ordonne la destitution des Officiers des Justices subalternes faisant profession de la R.P.R. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du 10 avril 1681, portant que les Compétances des Procès Prévôtaux des Gens de la R.P.R. domiciliés, seront jugés aux Présidiaux; Déclaration du Roy, du

offence, was entitled to summon and examine the person suspected without oath and without witnesses on oath. If the examination rendered it probable that he had committed the offence, he or she was bound over to appear at the next quarter-sessions. By the 9th section, no Papist was allowed to teach in a public school, or in any private houses except the children of the family, under a penalty of £20 and three months' imprisonment for each offence.¹

The second important Act of this session was the complement of the preceding measure.² The one was intended to secure that the children should be educated in a loyal environment, and the other was intended to remove temptations to active disaffection from their parents. The one was to guard the rising generation against the contaminating French influence abroad, and the other was to rid the land of the tories and rapparees who menaced the safety of its rulers at home. By the second Act, Papists, before the 1st of March following, were to deliver up all arms to the justice of the peace or other head officer, in spite of the fact that a licence had been granted; two justices were empowered to issue a warrant to search for and seize arms.³ Except in cities, the search could only take place between sunrise and sunset. Persons suspected of concealing arms might be examined on oath; any one failing to discover or to deliver up arms, or refusing or hindering search, or refusing to appear upon due summons to be examined, was liable, if a peer, to a fine of £100 for the first offence, to the penalties under the statutes of *præmunire* for the second; if the accused were under that degree, to the fine of £30 and imprisonment for one year for the first offence, and the penalties of *præmunire* for the second.⁴ Officers protected by the articles of Limerick

26 juin 1684; Arrest du Conseil, du 11 décembre 1684, portant que les Conseillers de la R.P.R. ne pourront être rapporteurs pour les Nouveaux Catholiques, ni dans ceux concernant des ecclésiastiques; Déclaration du Roy, du 11 juillet 1685, pour exclure les Juges, dont les femmes font profession de la R.P.R., de la connoissance des Procez, où les Ecclésiastiques auront intérêts.

¹ Cf. 3 Will. and Mary, 2 (Eng.); 8 Anne 3; *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. ii. No. 36.

² 7 Will. III. c. 5.

³ Cf. 1 Will. and Mary, 15 (Eng.); 13 George II. 6. Cf. Ordonnance du Roy, du 16 octobre 1688, portant défenses aux Nouveaux Convertis de retenir chez eux des mousquets, fusils, mousquetons, et autres armes offensives.

⁴ Cf. 13 George II. 6.

or Galway might, but only on condition of taking the oath of allegiance,¹ keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for defence or fowling. No armourer or gunmaker could take a Popish apprentice under a penalty of £20; such an apprentice was also liable to the same penalty.² The 10th section enacted that, save in the case of invasion, no Papist could keep a horse of more than £5 value: stud mares and stallions were excepted from this harsh section.³ Any Protestant discovering on oath to two justices might, with a constable or assistants, search for such horses in the daytime, and break open doors in case of opposition. No matter what the value of the animal might be, it became his absolute property on paying five guineas to the owner. If any one concealed such an animal, he was committed to gaol for three months and fined treble its value.⁴ Two examples will illustrate the working of this Statute. A Roman Catholic gentleman named Mageoghegan drove into Mullingar in his carriage drawn by two fine horses. When a scoundrel claimed the pair under this Act the owner shot them both dead on the spot. A priest, named Barnwall, had his handsome animal claimed in this way. Most reluctantly he was obliged to surrender his horse; but, as the new owner was riding away, Barnwall protested that he had no right to the

¹ 1 Will. and Mary (Eng.).

² Cf. Sentence de Police, du 13 mai 1681, portant défenses à aucun Maître Artisan de la R.P.R. de faire aucun Apprentif de ladite Religion; même d'en prendre de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du premier février 1669, xxx.

³ On the treatment of Property, cf. Déclaration du Roy, du 20 août 1685, portant que la moitié des biens de ceux de la R.P.R. qui sortiront du Royaume, seront donnez aux Dénonciateurs; Édit du Roy, du mois d'octobre 1685, orders the "confiscation des biens contre ceux qui feront l'exercice de la R.P.R.;" Édit du Roy, du mois de janvier 1688; Arrest du Conseil, du 31 mars 1688; Arrest du Conseil, du 8 décembre 1703; Déclaration du Roy, du 1^{er} mars 1704; Arrest du Conseil, du 10 novembre 1688; Arrest du Conseil, du 7 décembre 1688; Arrest du Conseil, du 8 janvier 1689; Arrest du Conseil, du 18 juillet 1690; Arrest du Conseil, du 9 septembre 1690; Arrest du Conseil, du 24 octobre 1690; Arrest du Conseil, du 20 juillet 1700; Arrest du Conseil, du 5 février 1701; Déclaration du Roy, du 29 décembre 1698, portant défense aux nouveaux Convertis de vendre ou hypothéquer leurs biens; Déclaration du Roy, du mai 1699, orders this prohibition to continue for three years; Déclaration du Roy, du 9 juin 1705, orders it for another period of three years; Déclaration du Roy, du 14 mai 1708, does the same; Déclaration du Roy, du 17 mai 1711, does the same; Déclaration du Roy, du 12 mars 1714, does the same. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, donnée à Versailles le 10 février 1750, portant défenses aux nouveaux Convertis de vendre leurs biens sans permission.

⁴ Cf. 13 George II. 6.

saddle and bridle. The stranger persisted in seizing them, and the priest, with a blow of his whip, stretched him on the ground and remounted. Barnwall was at once brought before a justice of the peace, but the friendly magistrate acquitted him on the ground that the other was taking forcible possession of his accoutrements. Another measure was enacted for the better suppressing of tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for preventing robberies, burglaries, and other heinous crimes.¹ The inhabitants of every barony and county were to make full satisfaction for the burnings, and for the killing or maiming of cattle. The Popish people were liable if the wrong were done by persons of their faith, otherwise the Protestants were liable. Damages under £10 were to be made good by the barony, over that amount by the county.² Notice of the offence must, as a rule, be given within twenty-four hours after the deed was committed. Persons concealing or aiding the rapparees were to be reckoned guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. Any one who took, convicted, or killed a tory might receive £20.

The Parliament, believing that by these measures it had restored tranquillity at home and abroad, now devoted their attention to the improvement of the law of the country in order to hasten its prosperity. Accordingly, Acts were passed for the better settlement of intestate estates,³ for the redress of inconveniences for the want of proof of death,⁴ for the removal of *damna clericorum*,⁵ for taking special bails in the country,⁶ upon actions and suits pending in the Courts of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer,⁷ for granting tales on trials and regulating fines in the County Palatine of Tipperary,⁸ for the preventing of frauds and perjuries,⁹ for the discharge of sheriffs upon their accounts,¹⁰ for the speedy and more

¹ 7 Will. III. c. 21. Cf. 9 Will. III. 9; 2 Anne, 13; 6 Anne, 11; 4 George I. 9; 6 George I. 12; 8 George I. 9; 12 George I. 8; 9 George II. 6; 21 George II. 12; 29 George II. 8; 19 and 20 George III. c. 37.

² Cf. 9 Anne, 11; 10 and 11 Charles I. 13.

³ 7 Will. III. 6.

⁴ 7 Will. III. 8.

⁵ 7 Will. III. 10.

⁶ 7 Will. III. 10.

⁷ 7 Will. III. 18.

⁸ 7 Will. III. 19, 20.

⁹ 7 Will. III. 12.

¹⁰ 7 Will. III. 13.

effectual proceeding upon distresses and avowries for rent,¹ and for the prevention of vexations and oppressions by arrests,² and of delays in suits of law.³ Measures were also approved for the building and repairing of churches,⁴ inclosure of churchyards,⁵ and for making provision for the poor;⁶ for taking away the benefit of the clergy,⁷ for the more effectual suppression of profane cursing and swearing,⁸ and for the punishment of the mother and father of a bastard.⁹ There were also considered the heads of bills for prohibiting the importation of foreign wool, cards, and card wire;¹⁰ for planting and preserving timber trees;¹¹ for the improvement of the breed of horses, and the destruction of vermin;¹² and for the better regulation of measures in and throughout the kingdom.¹³

It is painful to turn from wise statutes like these to contemplate the Act declaring which days in the year shall be observed as holy-days.¹⁴ Hired labourers or servants who refused to work for the usual wages upon other days than those appointed by this Act to be kept holy or upon extraordinary occasions set apart by the king or chief governor, were fined two shillings, and this amount was to go to the poor of the parish.¹⁵ In default of payment the labourer was to be whipped. If the parish constable did not execute this punishment,—and it was certain that he would often need to have the rod in his hand,—he was liable to a fine of twenty shillings, for each and every evasion of his disagreeable duty. The Puritan spirit of the members was also seen in the measure for the better observation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday.¹⁶

¹ 7 Will. III. 22.

³ 7 Will. III. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.* 819.

⁸ 7 Will. III. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 819.

¹⁴ 7 Will. III. c. 14.

² 7 Will. III. 25.

⁴ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 819.

⁷ 7 Will. III. 11; 9 Will. III. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* 819.

⁹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 819.

¹² *Ibid.* 819.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 819.

¹³ 7 Will. III. 24.

Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du premier février 1669, xlv. : "Que lesdits de la R.P.R. garderont et observeront les Fêtes indites par l'Eglise, et ne pourront es jours de l'observance desdites Fêtes, vendre ni étaler à Boutiques ouvertes, ni pareillement les Artisans travailler hors les chambres et maisons fermées esdits jours deffendus, en aucuns métiers dont le bruit puisse être entendu au dehors par les passans ou voisins, suivant l'Article XX. de l'Édit de Nantes; auquel effet lesdites Fêtes seront indites au son de la cloche, ou proclamées à la diligence des Consuls ou Échevins."

¹⁵ Cf. 5 & 6 Ed. VI. 3 (Eng.).

¹⁶ 7 Will. III. c. 17; cf. 19 Charles II. 7 (Eng.).

All persons were to observe that day and to exercise themselves in the duties of religion both privately and publicly. No works save those of necessity and charity were to be performed. An offender over the age of fourteen was to be fined five shillings for each offence. Goods exposed for sale were to be forfeited. No drover or other carrier was to travel or come to his inn on Sunday, on pain of losing twenty shillings.¹ In order to prevent breach of the peace by disorderly meetings, hurling, football, cudgels, and other pastimes were likewise forbidden under a penalty of twelvepence fine or two hours in the stocks.² It was conceded that meat might be dressed in families and inns for such as otherwise could not be provided for; milk or fish might be sold before ten or after four; and hackney coaches might be used in or about Dublin. It was enacted that the hundred should not be answerable for robberies upon travellers on Sundays. Save in treason, felony, or breach of the peace, the service of a process on Sundays was void. On pain of a ten-shillings fine, tavern-keepers were forbidden to furnish liquors except to their own families, or to entertain during divine service; those who entered or remained there forfeited five shillings. Constables and churchwardens were exhorted to enter taverns frequently and to apprehend the offenders.

Though these two Acts might be Puritan in tone, there was not only in Parliament, but also throughout the country a High Church party. The Nonjurors numbered a few Irishmen among them, the most distinguished being the learned Dodwell, the able Leslie, and Bishop Sheridan of Kilmore. Extreme though their views might be, some Irishmen sympathised with them, and therefore extended but lukewarm support to the new dynasty. The preference of Englishmen to all important livings tended materially to augment this feeling. The leaning of the High Church clergy, small as their numbers might be, to Jacobitism was assisted by English rule. They loved William little, but they liked Dissent a great deal less.

¹ Cf. 3 George I. 1 (Eng.).

² Cf. 1 George I. 1 (Eng.).

Their position forced them to consider schism a greater evil than perhaps they might otherwise have thought it. They saw French and German folk land almost every day, and they witnessed the steady immigration of Presbyterians to the north. The foreigners they might tolerate, the others they could not. In days gone by they had suffered much at Puritan hands, and they found it difficult to forget the bitter memories of evil days. The increase in the number of Scotsmen in the north threatened to upset the balance of the Church in those parts. In 1715 Archbishop Syngé reported, somewhat uncritically, that since the Revolution not less than 50,000 families had settled in Ulster.¹ In Ireland these settlers were not excluded by the sacramental test from the parliament and the corporation, the bench and the service. They were citizens in full possession of their rights on week days, but on Sundays they must attend worship in the parish church. In order to remove this anomaly, Sidney in 1692 submitted, by William's directions, the heads of a Bill identical with the English Toleration Act, but the fierce opposition displayed compelled him to let it drop. The King desired the reintroduction of this measure in the Parliament of 1695. Capel and the Earl of Drogheda supported it, but it was defeated chiefly by the action of the bishops. When the Dissenters perceived that the Toleration Act must be accompanied by a test, they at once desired that no more progress should be made with the measure.

It is sad to see the prelates of the Church opposing toleration; it is indeed refreshing to perceive that the morality of the head of the State is in advance of that of the Church. But the candid historian must confess that William was an exceptional monarch in the seventeenth century in desiring to give freedom to tender consciences. Contemporary rulers in France, in Spain, and in Austria extended little or no indulgence to those whose religious views differed from those recognised by the State. In those days that political conformity involved as its corol-

¹ Add. 6117 (Brit. Mus.).

lary religious conformity seemed to most statesmen an unimpeachable maxim. It was an axiom that the State in its civil capacity formed one corporation, subject to one secular jurisdiction and one system of discipline. It was also an axiom that the State in its ecclesiastical capacity formed one corporation subject to one ecclesiastical jurisdiction and one system of discipline. These two capacities, however, were the twofold aspect of one State. We have seen that Jesuits were attacked on political grounds and Dissenters were assailed for similar reasons. "New presbyter is but old priest writ large" was a maxim to which the Irish bishops fervently subscribed. Bramhall declared that Presbytery and Jesuitry "are both inconsistent with monarchy, and indeed with all government; over which they pretend a power and jurisdiction by Christ, the one for the Pope, the other for the Presbytery, from which there lies no appeal."¹ Papal bonds could dissolve the bonds of civil society, but contemporary thinkers deemed that Presbyterian discipline too might destroy Parliamentary authority and the liberty of the subject. Cartwright insists as strongly as Bellarmine that the Church shall control the State in her own interests. The magistrate is the Lord's officer, and must wield the sword as the Church directs, and persecute all "idolatry" at her bidding. The example of Constantine the Great, who persecuted all heresy, was invoked.² Goodman also conceived that idolatry must be forcibly resisted, and he glorified rebellion.³ To a Churchman of those days such beliefs were peculiarly abhorrent, and, knowing that these were the views of the men whom it was proposed to admit to public office, he regarded the position of the Papist and that of the Dissenter as identical. "The Puritans," according to Leslie, "were mere tools to the Jesuits (as they are to this day), from them they learned the deposing doctrine, and to set up private spirit against the Holy Scriptures, and all the authority of the Church."⁴ "Let us now come," Nalson asks us, "to take a view of

¹ *A Warning to the Church of England*, 257.

² Cartwright, *Second Reply*, cxv. sqq.

³ *How to Obey*, 77, 204, sqq.

⁴ Leslie, *The Rehearsal*, No. 84.

the younger antagonists of monarchy, the popular supremacy of Presbytery, that *leona malorum*, that revived hydra of the lake of Geneva, with its many-headed progeny, Anabaptists, Quakers, Levellers, etc., all which unnatural offspring are as kind to their dam as vipers, and as inconsistent with monarchy, as they pretend to be with the Papacy (with which Presbytery jostles for universal supremacy) or any of them with Loyalty, Royalty, or true religion.”¹ “Do you think,” demands the fanatical Duport, “our Roman Catholics, at least the Jesuits, were idle spectators all the while and had not a hand in the thirtieth of January, as well as in the fifth of November? . . . Is it not yet apparent, that the Popish emissaries and incendiaries were sent hither on purpose under the name of Anabaptists, Seekers, and Quakers, and I know not what, to blow the coals and foment the flames of our late dissensions? Our factious, fanatic, turbulent and schismatic spirits are but the Jesuits’ journeymen.”² The Church of Ireland disliked Dissent, and it is well to note the reasons, even the misconceptions, gross as they were, upon which such dislike was founded. We live in an age far removed from that of the Puritan rule, but to Churchmen of that day it was well within the memory of their fathers. In Ireland memories are especially long, and the rule of Cromwell left there an abiding impression of Puritanism in its harshest guise.

Capel, who had done so much for the English interest, died in 1696. Porter was made Lord Justice, but he also died that same winter. De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, and Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, were then appointed. Porter’s place as Chancellor was filled by an English barrister named Methuen, who had been Minister in Portugal.³ William was too busied with continental affairs

¹ Nalson, *Common Interest of King and People*, 201.

² *Sermon on the Fifth of November*, 72.

³ J. Methuen to R. Harley, Sept. 27, 1697: “From the moment the day was settled and the meeting of Parliament fixed, the parties set themselves on work to embroyl every thing, and held there clubs, and were all so different and so awkward, that never was poor man in such distress as I have been for nine weeks. The whole matter managing the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the Privy Council and the correspondence with England. But all the rest was nothing to the counting of the particular members. . . . I then found people very different from any other sort of

to concern himself with the fate of Ireland. Its importance in the game of international chess had diminished, and it was only from that point of view that he cared for either Ireland or England. A more or less free hand was given to the Loyalist party, and their path to ascendancy was left open. Ruvoigny had suffered exile for his religion, and he was not disposed to view the Roman Catholics with favour. By a strange turn of fate the policy of Louis gave Ireland a governor as strict against Roman Catholicism as his former master had been against Protestantism. The control of the Lords Justices over Parliament, if they cared to exercise it, was absolute. "The business of a Parliament in Ireland," Archbishop King regrets, "is not to make good laws, but to hinder ill ones, which is all that is left us by Poynings' Act." The King abandoned the power of reversing Irish outlawries, and in the heads of the Bill relating to this he allowed a clause to be inserted, by which the estates of men who had perished either in rebellion or in foreign service were to be included in the forfeitures. He also proposed to give up the omitted clause in the second article of Limerick, if Parliament would confirm the remainder. A measure was prepared concerning these articles, and it omitted the first clause, the disputed clause in the second, and curtailed the others seriously. The Roman Catholic gentry petitioned the House of Commons for the favour of being heard by Counsel upon the change, but the boon was denied them. They were not, however, altogether friendless. A small minority in the lower House protested, and in the upper House the bill passed by the narrow majority of one. Seven temporal and seven spiritual peers left on record in the following terms their sense of its injustice : "1°. Because

people I ever saw, being jealous, distrustful one of another, and that with reason ; interested to the highest degree, fond of imitating England in all matters against the prerogative, spirited up by some hott men who have sate in House of Commons ; very uneasy under the strict dependance in England ; seeming earnest against the Papist upon account of the English interest, but often proposing to themselves other matters. . . . We have been able to get 200,000*l.* and to part very good friends, so as to hope they will meet to pass the bills now sent over in better humour, and to lay the foundation for future better management." *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2, Portland MSS., 588-589. *S.P., Ireland*, Entry Books, vol. ii., July 10, 1696, and April 23, 1697 (Record Office, London).

we think the title of the bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, An Act for the confirmation of Articles, made at the surrender of the City of Limerick, whereas no one of the said Articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed. 2°. Because the said Articles were to be confirmed in favour of them, to whom they were granted ; but the confirmation of them by the bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive.”¹

In a letter of the 5th of October 1697, Archbishop King concisely places before us the dilemma in which the bench of bishops was placed. “If we vote with the Court in Parliament we are flatterers, if against, ungrateful. . . . As to the matter of the Articles of Limerick, we were for confirming them, but in the Act no one Article was confirmed ; such as were pretended to be confirmed were changed in the essentials, contrary to the King’s express letters patent : this we thought did not consist with his honour, and supposed he had been imposed on by the title which was for the confirmation of the Articles made at Limerick, but in earnest was to destroy them contrary to public faith. . . . The whole mystery being no more than to make a few more forfeitures to gratify courtiers. . . . If I remember right the non-contents in our house were 16 and 4 proxies, the contents 17 and 5 proxies. One would think the world were somewhat concerned about religion, for of three bills that passed last, one was to prohibit marrying with papists, and another to banish regulars, and the third for damning the Articles of Limerick on pretence of weakening the papish interest ; but after all there was not the least consideration of religion at the bottom, and we must learn from this not to judge according to appearance.” On the 9th of October 1697 he writes : “As to our protesting against breaking the Articles of Limerick under colour of confirming them it bears its evidence in itself. I understand the King is informed we would not confirm them otherwise.”² One

¹ *Irish Lords Journals*, 635.

² On this point cf. Leopold’s remarkable letter, Oct. 31, 1697. Klopp, vii. 470.

bishop and one lay Lord, though they stuck firmly to us, yet did not enter their protest."¹

The peers, who agreed with the King, read the treaty in the light of the explanation furnished by Ginkell, and in so reading it they saw that the new measure was unquestionably a violation of its spirit, if not of its letter. Sarsfield and his colleagues had permitted a loose wording of the vital first and second articles, and for this carelessness their co-religionists now paid a heavy price. The preamble of the Bill stated that so many of the articles were to be confirmed, "as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects of this Kingdom."² The second article was confirmed in the sense that it did not grant any new right to the persons comprehended, but only restored them to their old rights: it was not to alter or avoid possession, recovery, or regaining from them by any subject since the articles were concluded. They might enjoy all goods and chattels in their possession when the treaty was signed, but all other property was vested in the King. Save the persons comprised in the fourth article, unless those whose claims were being heard took the oaths of fidelity in Ireland, they were not restored. If they were out of the kingdom, they must return in eight months, submit, and take the oath of allegiance. One violation of the treaty was followed by another. The preamble to the second Outlawries Bill recited that James's Parliament "encouraged many of your Majesty's subjects to rise in arms and levy war against your Majesty, brought into this Kingdom great numbers of the French King's subjects, your Majesty's open enemies, to their assistance," and went on to affirm—a point that specially appealed to William—that many Papists were still engaged in the service of the enemies of England, and declared guilty of high-treason such as returned from France without being licensed.³ All

¹ King MSS. (T.C.D.). In 917 (Brit. Mus.), f. 151, under date of Jan. 6, 1697, King provides us with an extremely illuminating survey of the state of Ireland in 1697.

² 9 Will. III. c. 2.

³ 9 Will. III. c. 5; cf. 10 Will. III. 16. Sir Rich. Cox to —, Aug. 26, 1697: "Two bills supposed to be drawn by — and — were recommended to the House.

outlawries and attainders on account of the late war not already reversed, or affecting persons comprised within the articles of Limerick, or persons exempted by name in the statute, were declared to stand good for ever despite any pardon from the sovereign or his heirs. The House of Lords, with some show of fairness, exempted Sarsfield and a number of Peers and gentlemen. Other Papists who had perished in rebellion before the 3rd October 1691 were adjudged traitors, attainted, and their estates real and personal were forfeited. This Act was obviously meant to dispose of all attempts to reverse outlawries.

A law was passed for banishing from Ireland all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all regulars of the Popish clergy.¹ The preamble laid down that they

The first was called a bill for confirming outlaryes and passed the Commons in three or four days, which precipitation might be partly occasioned by the mention of a letter pretended to be received from Reswick, importing that the French ambassador had made a motion to Sir Joseph Williamson, that if the Irish were restored, the Huguenots should be. To which Sir J. W. replied that it was not in the King's power to do soe, having tied up his hands by a law to the contrary; and so to justify this answer and to prevent further sollicitation, hast was to be made in passing this bill. . . . Many hott debates were about this bill." On the same sheet is a letter dated London, Sept. 9, expressing great dissatisfaction with the parliamentary proceedings in Ireland, where there was more party contest than in the English Parliament. *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2, Portland MSS. 585.

¹ 9 Will. iii. c. 1; cf. 2 Anne, 3; 2 Anne, 6; 2 Anne, 7; 4 Anne, 2; 8 Anne, 3. The Emperor remonstrated against this act. Klopp, vii. 472. "Hoffmann in London hastened to this one and to that. They shrugged their shoulders. The decision, they said, rested with the King. He betook himself to Sunderland. The latter replied that in this matter he could do as much or as little as his footman. He reminded the Emperor's representative of what he already knew for a long time by experience that the penal laws were never strictly enforced but were rather not enforced at all. But if Hoffmann wished to take further steps then he had no one else to turn to but the King." The Secretary Blathwayt replied, "The banishment of the religious orders will be a relief to the secular clergy. The former are all instruments of France and only work for our common enemy. I do not think we need assume that the supply of secular priests will be limited in any way" (Oct. 3, 1697). Klopp, vii. 473. Cf. Grimblot's instructions, Mar. 2, 1698; Clarke, *James II.* ii. 579; Grimblot, i. 281. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du premier février 1669, forbidding ministers to call themselves "pasteurs," to wear a "robe," and to become the registrars of baptisms and marriages. The Déclaration du Roy, du 10 octobre 1679, forbade them to receive in their churches those who have abjured the Huguenot creed. The Arrest du Conseil, du 24 novembre 1681, regulated the number of ministers. Cf. Arrest du Conseil, du 5 janvier 1683, portant défenses aux Consistoires de ceux de la R.P.R. de faire aucun département pour la subvention d'autres Ministres, que de ceux qui servent le lieu de leur établissement. Arrest du Conseil, du 13 juillet 1682, ordonne aux Ministres et Proposans de la R.P.R. de se retirer des lieux, où l'exercice aura été interdit. Arrest du Conseil, du 17 mai 1683, is to the same effect. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du 7 août 1685, portant défenses aux Ministres et Proposans de la R.P.R. de demeurer plus près que de six lieues des endroits où l'exercice de ladite Religion aura été interdit. Cf. Édit du Roy, du mois de mars 1683, portant peine d'amende honorable et banissement

“do not only endeavour to withdraw his Majesty’s subjects from their obedience, but do daily stir up, and move sedition and rebellion to the great hazard of the ruin and desolation of this kingdom.” Once more the political nature of the bias against Roman Catholicism is plain : it paid dearly for its doctrines of the political power of the Papacy. All bishops, vicars-general and regular priests were commanded to leave the kingdom before the 1st of May 1698. If they returned after that date they were deemed guilty of high-treason ; for concealing them the penalty of a first offence was £20, for a second £40, and for a third the forfeiture of lands and goods for life. Detection was stimulated by granting to the informer half the fine inflicted, up to a maximum grant of £100. The Irish custom of burying their dead in an old ruined church or monastery was forbidden.

An attempt was made to render the chasm that already yawned between the settler and the serf impassable, for all matrimonial alliances between them were forbidden. The patrician was not allowed to ally himself with the plebeian. Any Protestant woman being heir to or in possession of any real property, or in possession of £500 of personal property, who married without the certificate of the minister, bishop, and a neighbouring justice to the effect that her bridegroom was a known Protestant, should be deemed dead in law, and the property passed to her next of Protestant kin.¹ Such a bride and bridegroom were to be incapable of being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian to any Protestant. The penalty for solemnizing a mixed marriage was a fine of £20 and one year’s imprisonment.² As usual half the fine was paid to the

perpétuel contre les Ministres qui recevront de la R.P.R. ; Édit du Roy, du mois d’août 1684, portant que les Ministres de la R.P.R. ne pourront faire leurs fonctions plus de trois ans dans un même lieu. Déclaration du Roy, du 13 juillet 1685, is to the same effect. Cf. Arrest du Conseil, du 30 avril 1685, portant défenses aux Ministres et Proposans de la R.P.R. de faire l’exercice de leur Religion dans les lieux où les temples auront été démolis ; Arrest du Conseil, du 2 juillet 1685 ; Édit du Roy, du mois d’août 1685 ; Arrest du Conseil, du 15 septembre 1685. Édit du Roy, du mois d’octobre 1685, orders ministers to leave France within fifteen days under punishment of the galleys. Déclaration du Roy, du 1^{er} juillet 1686, is to the same effect.

¹ 9 Will. III. c. 3 ; cf. 2 Anne, 6.

² On this see the reports of Hoffmann, July 30, 1697, Oct. 1 and 8, and Nov. 28 ; Klopp, vii. 470-472. According to Hoffmann there were, in 1697, about 1000

informer.¹ A Protestant who married without the indispensable certificate was reckoned a Papist or Popish recusant, and lost his civil rights.² Soldiers marrying Papists were *ipso facto* discharged from the King's service. The chasm widened by this Act has never been bridged over in Ireland. Marriages between Roman Catholic and Protestant occur, but they are comparatively infrequent even at the present time, for there is little social intercourse between members of the two faiths.

The plot to assassinate William aroused deep indignation in England. An Act was passed to secure the succession, and an association in defence of William and English liberty against James and French despotism was speedily formed. The roll was largely signed in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The last country was deeply stirred by the news of this conspiracy, for among the papers of Bishop Tyrrell was discovered a scheme, recalling that of Avaux, for the complete extirpation of the Protestants and the Protestant religion: the proposal was in the writing of Colonel John Browne, an officer in James's service.³ On the 29th of November 1697 the House of Commons passed a series of strong resolutions, in which it was stated that ever since the Reformation, and particularly during the reign of James II., the Papists by their frequent conspiracies, inhuman massacres and open rebellions had endeavoured to extirpate the Protestant religion and interest,

members of religious orders in Ireland, and from 4000 to 5000 secular priests. His information is based on that sent from Irish clerical sources. *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. ii. No. 46. Add. 35,933. *Hardwicke Papers*, Folio 2-8.

¹ Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du 20 août 1685, portant que la moitié des biens de ceux de la R.P.R. qui sortiront du Royaume, seront donnez aux Dénonciateurs; by the Édit du Roy, du mois de janvier 1688, they "recevront moitié des meubles et effets mobiliers, et jouiront pendant dix ans de la moitié des revenus des immeubles cachés ou recelés des Consistoires, ministres et sujets fugitifs." Cf. the Registres du Conseil d'État, le 23 septembre 1702, and le 17 avril 1703.

² On Marriages, cf. Édit du Roy, du mois de novembre 1689, portant défenses aux Catholiques de contracter mariage avec ceux de la R.P.R.; Édit du Roy, donné à Fontainebleau au mois d'août 1683, portant que les Sujets du Roi de l'un et de l'autre sexe faisant profession de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, ne pourront se marier avec ceux ou celles qui font profession de la Religion Luthérienne ou Calviniste; Déclaration du Roy, du 18 juin 1685, portant que les Temples où il sera célébré des Mariages entre Catholiques et des gens de la R.P.R. et ceux où dans les Prêches il sera tenu des discours séditieux, seront démolis. Cf. Déclaration du Roy, du 16 juin, 1685, and du 6 août 1686.

³ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 970.

that they were still resolved to sever Ireland from England, that their disfranchisement was necessary to be formally enacted, and that another oath, renouncing Papal authority in Ireland, was required.¹ The Bill embodying these resolutions was approved of by a majority of twenty-four in the House of Commons, though some protested against the clause requiring all persons, under the penalties of *praemunire*, to renounce the superiority of any foreign power in ecclesiastical or spiritual matters within the realm. These protests were more effective in the House of Lords, for there the Bill was rejected. "It was never designed," writes Archbishop King, "to be executed."² But we have too many such laws already, and with God's help shall never have any more as long as I or my friends can help it; if one should measure our temper by our laws, I think we are little short of the inquisition, but if by the execution of them, I doubt we will seem as indifferent in matters of religion as our neighbours in Holland where a * * *³ law and strict execution are what wisdom and interest would recommend to us, and till we see some better use made of these we have, than has been hitherto, I think we ought to have no more. . . . Everybody here is afraid of their places, the judges for giving their opinion about *praemunire*, because it was half the truth, they said; the army lest they should be disbanded, the dissenters lest they should lose their pension, the Papists for fear the laws should be executed against them, the Merchants lest their trade should be stopped, the lawyers for want of business in the Courts, which is in a manner entirely hindered by privilege, and the parliament men lest the parliament should be dissolved, and so they come to be

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, ii. 977-979.

² Klopp, viii. 202: "I have," says the Emperor, "heard with a heavy heart the reports about the condition of the Catholics in Ireland. . . . It further is contrary to the Treaty of Limerick. It disturbs the confidence between the allies of different religions. This wrong is not righted by the pretext that the King could not refuse his sanction to these unjust laws, but that he will not let them be executed. For the King is mortal like other men, and after him these severe laws may be executed more harshly and never again altered." Cf. Grimblot, i. 434. Vernon assured Auersperg, "it was not the King's intention to oppress the Catholic religion in Ireland but to maintain it. The bishops were to remain. The articles about the education of children were not sanctioned" (Klopp, viii. 203).

³ This word is undecipherable.

answerable for their debts." Such were the anxieties pervading the community when the measure had come back from England with the clause giving discretionary power to justices of the peace to summon all persons and to administer to them the oath of fidelity and abjuration: if some were absent when summoned, they were liable to the penalty of *praemunire*. The peers, notably the spiritual ones, raised a series of cogent objections. That very Parliament they had passed a measure in some degree confirming the articles of Limerick. These articles laid down that they who submitted to the Government should take the oath of fidelity and no other; this new policy was expressly contrary to the ninth of these famous articles. Moreover, five years previously an Act had been passed abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland. The second reason does the peers of that age infinite credit. "The Lords could not agree to the fore-mentioned Clause, because to put a force upon pure conscience and impose a law to punish a bare opinion or an act of the understanding, without any overt act, and even to extort that thought under the heavy penalty of a *praemunire*, was thought a punishment too grievous and severe, and such as could not be paralleled or warranted by any precedent either in England or Ireland."¹ Archbishop

¹ Klopp, vii. 475: "In the Emperor's name," cried Hoffmann, "I remonstrate against this unheard-of cruelty which would inflict this law on a whole nation." He spoke to Sunderland in the same way he had spoken to Trumbull. "Hitherto," wrote Hoffmann to the Emperor, "one has had every cause to boast of the King's moderation in religious matters. Now it seems as if they wished here (*i.e.* in London) to be as violent and cruel as the Cromwellian followers in Ireland. I should be inclined to assume that the English members of the Irish government were acting on their own initiative. But among them there is also Count Galway, who as a native Frenchman, raised by the King's favour, is much too careful to let himself be involved in anything which might cost him that favour. So I am forced to assume that the Government there is acting on express orders. On the other hand the conduct of Trumbull and Sunderland with regard to my remonstrances shows the scruples which prevent them from opposing the bill in the privy council. They fear the irresponsibility before the King, and still more before Parliament. And this caution on their part makes me conjecture that there is a plan to annihilate the Catholic religion in Ireland because they think that by this means they can guard against any rebellion of this nation for the future" (Oct. $\frac{12}{22}$, 1697, Klopp, vii. 475, 476). See Hoffmann's reports, Oct. $\frac{15}{25}$, Oct. $\frac{19}{29}$. Count Kaunitz spoke to the English ambassador at The Hague with such warmth that the impression even on the Regency in London was clearly discernible to Hoffmann. Add. 35,933. *Hardwicke Papers*, f. 8-9.

King writes thus on this matter : " Now inasmuch as the Pope's supremacy is an article of the Roman Catholic faith, it seems a direct intention to impose on them an oath to renounce an article of their faith. I think it reasonable that Papists should be debarred all public trust, profit, or power, and kept from all such advantages as would put them in a capacity for disturbing the public peace, but think it hard to take away men's estates, liberties, or lives, merely because they differ in estimate of religion, yet this bill will pass, and I believe as [with] other such [measures] all [these] bills will never be executed but yet remain as an objection against us and an argument of our cruelty as much as if it were. . . . We understood that his Majesty was both by nature, principles, and education, against persecuting any upon [the ground of] conscience, and I assure your Grace that those considerations did weigh very much with such bishops as voted against the bill, and we promise ourselves that if his Majesty be fully apprised of the matter he will approve of our proceedings."¹ The majority of the judges, when consulted, decided that according to the statute of Richard II. the Roman Catholics not only forfeited their property, but were also put outside the pale of the King's protection. Some of them even held that, as the statute of the 5th of Elizabeth, mitigating the severity of the ancient laws of praemunire, was not in force in Ireland, the person who killed a Roman Catholic was not amenable to the law. The clause defeated the ends of the Bill, the preservation of the King's person and Government. For the penalty threatened was so severe, that if a man had not taken the oath it would render him much more the enemy of the King and Government than ever before. Besides, there were strong financial reasons for persisting in opposition. As three-quarters of the people were Papists, the landlord would lose his rent and the creditor his debt if, as the result of the measure, the Roman Catholics were in greatly increased numbers debarred from living peaceably on the land. Consequently trade and industry would be

¹ The date of this letter is Nov. 20, 1697, f. 132 (King's MSS. T.C.D.).

discouraged and the King's small revenue thereby lessened. The Papists would become slothful and careless, and the Tories and rapparees would inevitably receive a large accession to their ranks. Protestants would be endangered by having dealings with them, and how could all commerce be avoided? No foreigner could transact business with any degree of security, for upon any difference in the bargain or otherwise he might have the oaths tendered to him, and upon refusal he would incur the penalties of the Act.¹

These reasons seemed satisfactory enough to justify the House of Lords in rejecting the measure sent them, but the members showed that their action proceeded from no desire to be lenient to the Papists. They enumerate the terrible laws passed by them that session in proof of this statement. They point out that they are not unmindful of the safety of his Majesty's person, for they have joined the association in his defence. There is indeed a precedent for their action, since some time before this a Bill with the very same title was rejected in the House of Commons because certain clauses were not liked.

William was not turned from his wrath at this independent action by the appeals made to his reason.² The rough draft of a letter to the Lords Justices on the dependence of Ireland bears sufficient witness to his anger. "Some of our subjects of Ireland have of late made several attempts to shake off their subjection to and

¹ Add. 28,941 (Brit. Mus.); Add. 28,951, the *Ellis Papers* (Brit. Mus.).

² On the very day on which the regency in London . . . were thinking more than before of softening the Irish Bill, the news of the religious clause which the King of France had inserted in the 4th article of the Treaty with the Empire reached The Hague. William's feeling about this was shown us in his letter to Heinsius, Oct. $\frac{21}{31}$, especially his suspicion of collusion between the Imperial ambassadors and the French with regard to this clause. In this frame of mind William sanctioned the Irish Bill. Nov. $\frac{2}{12}$, Hoffmann's report: "The only mitigation is this, that the execution of this cruel law is to depend on the will and pleasure of the King. We have indeed reason to hope from the King that as long as it depends on him, the law will not be executed" (Klopp, vii. 477). William was not able to refuse his sanction considering the feeling in Ireland. Cf. Auersperg's report, Nov. 5, 1697. Klopp, vii. 478; Add. 28,942 (Brit. Mus.).

dependence on this our kingdom . . . [witness] the bold and pernicious opinions in a book published and dedicated to us ;¹ but more fully and authentically by the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons in their late sessions, and by the bill sent hither under the Great Seal of Ireland intituled An Act for the better security of our person and government, whereby they would have an Act passed in our Parliament here, expressly binding Ireland, to be re-enacted there, and alterations therein made, some of which amount to a repeal of what is required by the said Act made here, and in other of the said alterations pretending to give authority to and oblige the Courts of Justice of the Great Seal in this our realm, looking upon this as an occasion and encouragement to the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book ; the consequences of which positions and proceedings will be so fatal to this our kingdom, and even Ireland itself, unless speedily remedied by the maintenance, dependence, and subordination of Ireland to the Imperial Crown of this realm. We taking this same into our royal consideration, do hereby direct and require you to issue out such a proclamation for punishing and discountenancing for the future all such persons as shall be found guilty of the like attempts, and that the laws which direct and restrain the Parliament of Ireland in their actings may be duly observed ; and also to discourage all things which may in any degree tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon this our kingdom."

Annoyed as William was at the rejection of the measure, had he had time to understand the inner significance of an appeal made by the society of Ulster against a judgment of the Irish House of Lords he would have felt perhaps equally angry.² This case possesses a twofold

¹ The famous work of Molyneux.

² Cf. *A Concise view of the Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of the Honourable Society of the Governors and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the realm of Ireland, commonly called the Irish Society: compiled principally from their Records*, London, 1822. The case of William Lord Bishop of Derry, on an Appeal before the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal (of Ireland) in Parliament assembled, against the Society of the Governor and Assistants, London, for the New Plantation in Ulster, the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of Londonderry, and others

interest, for it gave rise to the famous book of Molyneux, and it was an attempt on the part of Archbishop King to demonstrate that the Irish House of Lords was a final court of appeal. Bishop Bramhall had leased lands known as the Fifteen Hundred Acres to the Corporation of Londonderry. The lease expired in 1694, and the Corporation and Archbishop King could not come to terms. The former then discovered that the property belonged to the Irish Society. In June 1697, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland directed a trial in order to ascertain if King or any of his predecessors had ever been in possession, either actually or in construction of law, by receipt of rents during the lease. The Archbishop appealed to the Irish House of Lords, who reversed the order of Chancery, the sheriffs thereupon delivering possession to him. On two grounds the Society appealed to the English House of Lords. The first was that the members were advised that there was no appeal from a decree of the Court of Chancery in Ireland to the House of Lords in that kingdom; moreover, the order in Chancery was an interlocutory one. The case now assumed the form of a constitutional trial of the highest importance. Sir Thomas Trevor, the Attorney-General, and Sir Bartholomew Shore were the Counsel for the City of London, and Sir Thomas Powys and Mr. Serjeant Wright for the Archbishop. Trevor explained to the Court the manner of Bills passing in Ireland. He showed how Poynings' law bound the Council Board there, and he inferred that if the legislative power were so restricted, much more was the judicial. If the latter were not, the Irish Bench might usurp the power England possesses over the legislature; for they might interpret Acts as they liked and so explain them away. In fact the Irish Parliament would become co-ordinate with the English, if his clients lost their case. It was agreed on all sides that writs of error lay from the King's Bench there, proof

(1697), *Thorpe Tracts*, National Library, Dublin, vol. 12. Notes of the Proceedings in the English House of Lords, in King's handwriting, in Marsh's Library, Dublin, MSS., V3, 24, pp. 273-287. Add. 34,773 (Brit. Mus.). House of Lord's Report, xiv. 6, 1697-99, pp. 18-24, 24-56. *S.P., Ireland*, William, vol. 360 (Record Office, London). J. Methuen to Vernon, June 10, 1699.

presumptive that appeals would lie. Shore proceeded to elaborate the point that it would lessen the supremacy of England if in the last resort an appeal to the English House of Lords did not lie. Vaughan was quoted in support of the contention that they should not insensibly change their procedure. Davis was relied upon to show that England had planted all the ports of the city, and that it was united to the Crown, not the realm, of England. Ireland was indeed like a county palatine which has royal jurisdiction, royal services, and royal escheats, but yet a writ of error lay over all : power there was still *salvo Dominio Regis*. Moreover, there were many precedents for appeals from the Court of Chancery to England, and these appeals mark dependency. The real question at issue is whether the Parliament in England is superior to that in Ireland. Davis in the twenty-fifth report maintains that the latter is but part of that of England. On the other hand Sir Thomas Powys proceeded to show that the English Parliament does not possess supreme jurisdiction in Ireland. If it made an act to forfeit all the Irish estates, it would not be valid unless ratified by the Irish Parliament. An ecclesiastical parallel was cited. The archbishop of Canterbury used to possess power over the Irish clergy as Primate, but that was so no longer. Wright attempted to prove that the House of Lords in Ireland have a jurisdiction to hear appeals from the Court of Chancery, and that the House of Lords in England cannot receive appeals from the Irish House of Lords. Here he touched upon the history of Ireland from 1170 in order to demonstrate that it was a distinct kingdom. In the course of this historical review Wright was interrupted by Lord Peterborough, who instructed Counsel to confine their argument to two points : 1° Whether the House of Lords in Ireland can receive appeals from the Chancery ; 2° What right the House of Lords in England have to receive appeals from the Chancery in Ireland. Wright quoted the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, given them by Henry II., in support of his contention. The laws of England were transmitted

thither: thus the laws made in England in the reign of James I. were passed over again there. The Irish Parliament was an imitation of the English Parliament. That there had been appeals to the Irish House of Lords he would show by law, by reason, and by fact. He cited as precedents the cases of the Prior of Llanthony, of Lord Clancarty, 1661, of Lord Ranelagh, 1662, of Keane O'Hara and his wife, 1662, of Lord Loftus, 1662. Sir Thomas Powys held that a Parliament presupposed judicial power. It is here styled the High Court, and so it is there. The many rebellions have occasioned the loss of the records, otherwise his colleague would have been able to collect many more precedents. In a day-book of Edward III. we find that it speaks of Ireland that it had *sicut in Anglia, curiale et parlamenta*; so it appears by the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*. Of course Powys admits that writs of error always came over to England. But he argues ingeniously that this happened because there might be a failure of justice, and that when the Brehon laws were abolished the Irish came over here to know what the law of England, as yet strange to them, might be in disputed points.

After hearing counsel the English House of Lords resolved that "the appeal from the Chancery in Ireland to the Lords in Ireland is *coram non iudice*." The latter proceedings in the case were accordingly void, and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was directed to reinstate the Society of Ulster in their possessions. The question of the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords came up again in the following year on an appeal by Edward Ward against a decision of the Irish Lords reversing an order of the Chancellor of the County Palatine of Tipperary.¹ The House of Lords reaffirmed their decision of the previous year. Of course the permanent interest of these cases lies in the fact that they formed part of an attempt of the Irish Parliament to assert its independence. The action of the English Parliament in passing measures crippling the Irish wool trade aroused

¹ House of Lords' Report, xiv. 6, 1697-99, pp. 18-56.

deep resentment amongst the colonists in Ireland. An attempt was made, notably by King, to demonstrate that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and therefore not bound by English Acts of Parliament. This was the thesis of a friend of King, "the famous Mr. Molyneux." In 1698 appeared his work, *The Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*. In order to understand its place in political thought we must glance at the treatises of Bolton and Mayart.

In 1644 appeared the book attributed to Sir Richard Bolton. He argues that Ireland is a separate kingdom. If a statute were passed in England, explaining a doubtful point in the common law, it would be law in Ireland; but if a new statute were introduced, it did not bind Ireland unless expressly enacted there. In proof of this view he cited Pilkington's case, and the case of the merchants of Waterford. If England legislated for Ireland, what was the use of the Irish Parliaments? Wales and the County Palatine of Chester, when incorporated with England, were given members to represent them in Westminster, but Ireland had none there. Mayart, one of the judges of the Common Pleas in Ireland, attempted to meet these arguments. Of course he maintains that Ireland forms an integral part of England, that if a declaratory English Act binds Ireland, so might other acts. Did not the Irish obey statutes; for example, those of Merton, Marlebridge, and Gloucester, before they were passed by their own Legislature? The cases of Wales and Chester were not to the point. Calais was legislated for, though no member was returned by that town to Parliament. Mayart places his finger on the weak spot when he hints—what the regency question in George III.'s reign afterwards showed—that if the claim of Bolton be serious they are faced with two Parliaments co-ordinate in power.

Though the work of Molyneux was largely due to the case of the Bishop of 'Derry, it is no mere *livre de circonstance*. King and he had discussed the subordination of Ireland carefully, and both had read copies of Bolton's work. "I have," writes King, "at the request

of Mr. Molyneux, desired you to assist Mr. Tolbet to present a book, written by him, to the King, and to choose a proper hand for it; it concerns the present debates about the subordination of Ireland to England. I did not see it till it was printed off, and was very much concerned at some things in it, particularly his mentioning my case. . . . There are very material omissions in it, particularly in his own (account of several acts)."¹ On the fourteenth day of May he continues, "I find Mr. Molyneux has had account that his book is not published, but is far from being concerned at it; on the contrary, he told me that he had sent it over some time before, but did not think fit to let it go abroad till those on the place might judge it seasonable, and he is glad to put it into such prudent hands that know how to deal with it."² On the 31st of May the Bishop heard that the Lords in England had declared against the jurisdiction of the Lords in Ireland, and on the seventh of June he was informed that "the book of Molyneux did influence my affair in the Lord's house in England."³ On the sixth of June he writes: "Molyneux has had some encouraging letters last post, but I believe it is not for nothing that the committee has spent three days reading his book, as I find by the last post, and I suspect the worst."³ The following day he continues: "I cannot see why the book of Molyneux, being written by a private gentleman without consulting anybody that I can find, can justify a public resolution to the detriment of a kingdom. I did then prognostic that it would do harm, and said as much, and was positive that it should not be published till we had the opinion of our friends from England. . . . I can see no good effect from it, except that we shall know now what is or is not law in this kingdom, of which, it seems, we have been hitherto ignorant, or to what tribunal we are to apply when aggrieved. . . . I know no way to put things to a certainty but to let us know by a bill what power will be allowed us, for as things are now, I know not

¹ The date of this letter is April 16, 1698 (King MSS., T.C.D.).

² King MSS., T.C.D.

³ King MSS., T.C.D.

whether we can inquire into grievances, send for papers or persons, or punish for breach of privileges, and if we cannot do those things it is to little purpose to call us a Parliament. I think there is less evidence for our power in those or in criminal causes than in Chancery or common law cases, and I suppose the design is to take all away.”¹

Molyneux, aware of this design, sets himself the task of proving that Ireland is a separate kingdom, and not a conquered country.² Henry II. did not, he contends, overcome the kings and chieftains and the prelates *vi et armis*: they rendered “an entire and voluntary submission of all the civil and ecclesiastical states to King Henry II. without the least hostile stroke on any side.” Force was used afterwards to crush rebellion, but no force had been employed when the Angevin king crossed over. Even granting that there had been a conquest, its consequences were waived by the concessions of the English kings. For example, at the Council of Lismore he holds there was introduced “the freedom of Parliaments to be held in Ireland as they were held in England.” He agrees with Bolton and with the judicious Hooker that legislation without representation is a form of tyranny. He also follows Bolton in maintaining that if English laws were obeyed in Ireland, they were either declaratory of the common law or re-enacted there; and he acutely suggests that the favour with which these laws were regarded in Ireland was due to the fact that Irish members took part in the deliberations thereon. Therefore they “might reasonably be of force there, because they were assented to by its own representatives.”³ The inference is plain and unmistakable. “If the Parliament of England is to legislate for Ireland, the latter country must have its representatives in an Imperial Parliament.” “And

¹ King MSS., T.C.D.

² Sir R. Cox to —, Oct. 28, 1699: “You may remember upon the first view of Mr. Molineux’s book I gave you my thoughts, that the doctrine was false and unreasonably published, and would have ill consequences.”—*Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2; Portland MSS., 609.

³ Cf. Marsilius of Padua: “Laws derive their authority from the nation, and are invalid without its assent. As the whole is greater than any part, it is wrong that any should legislate for the whole; and as men are equal, it is wrong that one should be bound by laws made by another.”

this," he adds, "I believe we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is an happiness we can hardly hope for." The fact that the Irish Parliament accepted the legislation of England in the reign of William III. does not overturn his great argument, for the circumstances of the case were quite peculiar. Calvin's case in the reign of James I. and King's case now certainly decided that an appeal lay from the Irish courts to the English. But Molyneux will not admit that judicial subordination implies Parliamentary subordination. He even makes the ingenious suggestion that this right of appeal may have originated in an Irish Act of Parliament that has been lost. As he disputes the statement that Ireland is a conquered country, so he maintains that it is not a colony: it is really a separate kingdom. The king is king of Ireland precisely as he is king of Scotland. "Is this agreeable to the nature of a colony?" Does William ever style himself king of Virginia, of New England, or of Maryland?

Having examined all the arguments against his case, Molyneux proceeds to give a short summary of those in his favour, and concludes that the binding of Ireland by Acts of Parliament made in England is against reason and the common rights of all mankind. It is only consent that gives law force. In this connection the author appeals to the authority of Hooker. "Laws they are not which public approbation hath not made so," a sentiment that wins his complete approval. It was declared by both Houses of Parliament in the reign of James I. that in the High Court of Parliament the whole body of the realm, and every particular member thereof, either in person or by representation, are deemed to be present. Is this, then, the writer asks, the common law of England, and the birth-right of every free-born English subject? and shall we of this kingdom be denied it by having laws imposed on us, where we are neither personally nor representatively present? If Henry VII. or his Council had dreamt that they could bind Ireland by statutes enacted in England, why was such strict provision made by Poynings' Act that no Act of Parliament should pass in Ireland before it

was first certified by the Chief Governor and Privy Council there, under the broad seal of the kingdom, to the King and his Privy Council in England, and, having received their approbation, remitted to Ireland under the broad seal of England, there to be passed into law? This measure was expressly designed for the purpose of effectually hindering the passage of any bill likely to be prejudicial to England. But this precaution was needless if the King and his Parliament could at any time annul proceedings in Ireland. Moreover, the English power in claiming supremacy infringes the royal prerogative.¹ Poynings' Act raised it to a high pitch, but the new procedure narrows it. For the King and his Privy Council used to signify their approval or their disapproval of laws sent them from Ireland, and now this power is assumed by the English Parliament. "If the religion, lives, fortunes, and estates of the clergy, nobility, and gentry of Ireland may be disposed of without their privity and consent, what benefit have they of any laws, liberties, or privileges granted unto them by the Crown of England? I am loth to give their condition a hard name, but I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law to which I do not consent . . . if one law may be imposed without consent, any other law whatever may be imposed on us without our consent. This will naturally introduce taxing us without our consent; and this as necessarily destroys our property. I have no other notion of property but a power of disposing my goods as I please, and not as another shall command. Whatever another may rightfully take from me without my consent I have certainly no property in."

Molyneux is perplexed, too, by the confusing problem of ascertaining the sovereign body. With Bodin he perceives that sovereignty must reside in the supreme legislative authority. With Bodin and Hobbes he likewise perceives that the sovereign power cannot be divided. "We are certainly bound to obey the supreme authority

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), J. Pulteney to J. Dawson, 9th Aug. 1709: "The Crown is the best, I might say the only, shelter against any hardships the parliament of England may at any time attempt to lay on the Kingdom of Ireland."

over us ; and yet hereby we are not permitted to know who or what the same is ; whether the Parliament of England or that of Ireland, or both ; and in what cases the one and in what the other, which uncertainty is or may be made a pretence at any time for disobedience.

“It is not impossible but the different legislatures we are subject to may enact different or contrary sanctions ; which of these must we obey ? ” The widely ramifying influence of France may be clearly discerned in the closing paragraphs of this valuable treatise. “We have heard,” he urges, “great outcries, and deservedly, on breaking the Edict of Nantes, and other stipulations ; how far the breaking our constitution, which has been of five hundred years’ standing, exceeds that I leave the world to judge. . . . The rights of Parliament should be preserved sacred and inviolable, wherever they are found. This kind of government, once so universal all over Europe, is now almost vanished from amongst the nations thereof. Our King’s dominions are the only supporters of this noble Gothic constitution, save only what little remains may be found thereof in Poland. We should not therefore make so light of that sort of legislature, and, as it were, abolish it in one kingdom of the three, wherein it appears, but rather cherish and encourage it whenever we meet it.”

With this noble plea for liberty the tiny treatise concludes. Its immediate significance was little, and perhaps least of all to the mind of a practical statesman like William. And yet its real importance is difficult to overestimate, for it has formed the armoury from which successive generations of advocates of Irish self-government from the days of Lucas to the days of Parnell have taken down and polished their weapons of war. Much as Louis did to shape the destinies of Ireland, much as William did, it is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that Molyneux may be placed alongside of them as one of the forces which have helped to make modern Ireland. His blend of intense national feeling with acute powers of analysis has affected every generation from the days of William to our own time. Its elevation and breadth

make his pamphlet one of the most influential ever published in Ireland. The volume was indeed a prophecy, for in 1782 the Irish Parliament achieved the independence that Molyneux so ardently desired. "I am now," remarked Grattan, "to address a free people; ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bow to her august presence, I say, *esto perpetua*."

Whatever the verdict of posterity, the bulk of his contemporaries warmly disapproved of the volume. It was brought under the notice of the English House of Commons, and a committee appointed to consider it reported adversely. The House voted that "the book was of dangerous tendency to the Crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland hath and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of that Realm." An address was presented to William praying him "to discourage all things which may in any degree tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England." It is plain that the English members regarded the work as an unconstitutional publication and a breach of privilege.¹ They ordered it to be publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Having condemned the published reflections of an Irish member of Parliament, the English House proceeded to investigate the doings of his House. The English members specially concerned themselves with the fate of the forfeited estates. At the time of the Cromwellian settlement a carefully planned survey had been made of the forfeited lands, but no such cadastre had been prepared at the Revolution of 1688. This, of course, rendered it

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), J. Pulteney to J. Dawson, Aug. 25, 1709; Sept. 3, 1709.

extremely difficult to ascertain precisely the extent of the farms under the charge of the commissioners. Townlands were forgotten, the acreage of others not specified, and the boundaries remained undefined. No careful scrutiny of the way in which the estates were distributed was therefore possible.¹ This may be illustrated by the grant of the Duke of York's estate to the Countess of Orkney. William was informed that it was only worth £5000 a year, whereas it consisted of 120,000 acres of the best land in Munster worth, according to the commissioners, £26,000 a year. As there were no maps, there could be no really adequate investigation into the claims of the persons who received forfeited estates. The Court of Claims had disposed of 504,593 acres when the matter aroused the attention of the English House of Commons. To the Land Tax Bill of 1699 was tacked a clause empowering seven commissioners to scrutinise the disposal of the recently forfeited property. As has frequently occurred with later commissions, the members failed to come to a unanimous decision, and accordingly we have the usual majority and minority reports. The spokesman of the majority was Trenchard, and he wrote his account in no spirit of friendliness to William. Both reports stated that more than a million of Irish acres had been forfeited, but the commissioners possessed insufficient data to enable them to estimate the value of this huge property. They saw, however, quite clearly some of the inequalities that had been perpetrated. In accordance with the articles of Limerick more than a fourth part had been awarded to the former owners; about one-ninth had been restored to families who could plead that the spirit if not the letter of the treaty favoured them. The commissioners considered that these Papists had been treated too tenderly. They reported the grants that had been made to such friends of the King as Bentinck, Bentinck's son, Woodstock, the Countess of Orkney, the Earls of Galway and Albemarle, and Lord Sidney, now become the Earl

¹ Bonn, ii. 155. *S.P., Ireland*, William, vol. 360 (Record Office, London), Jan. 2, 1700; June 14, 1700; Sept. 9, 1700; Aug. 17, 1700.

of Romney. No wonder Archbishop King wrote : "The Governors of Ireland for their own interest have kept it in a state of war these five hundred years, and will if not prevented keep it so to the end of the world, a governor comes over here hungry and poor with numerous dependents to be provided for, and how should he provide for them but by bringing as many under forfeitures as he can, as they have done all along, and so they will do so still."¹

The English House of Commons was, however, more than satisfied with the report, for it opened out a prospect of lessening future burdens, perhaps even of restoring something to the sadly depleted pocket of the long-suffering taxpayer.² It also gave them the longed-for chance of venting their spleen upon the detested Dutch and the hated Irish Papists. Accordingly a Bill was passed, entitled, "An Act for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land tax in England, and by the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland." It created almost as great a revolution in real property in Ireland as did either the Cromwellian or the Caroline settlements. All the property which had belonged to the Crown when James ascended the throne, and all that had been acquired since that date, were vested in thirteen trustees. All the King's grants were resumed save seven. 391,412 acres of land were given to their old proprietors, and 716,374 acres were sold—a total of well over a million acres. Instead of the sales producing £1,699,343, only £724,501 was realised.³ If we measure the value of the restored land at the same rate, it was worth about £488,000, so that the total worth of the forfeited lands was about a million pounds. The curtain now falls on the last act in the tragedy of the confiscation of the Irish land, for nowadays the process has been reversed, and the land is returning by degrees into the possession of the sons of the soil. It must never be forgotten that

¹ Dec. 21, 1697, King MSS., T.C.D.

² Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, Jan. 18, 1699-1700: "There is now a prospect that the Irish forfeitures will be applied to the public, which may possibly mount to 1,600,000l" (*Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2, Portland MSS., 614).

³ Bonn, ii. 157.

the penal laws are intimately bound up with the land question. What the colonists wanted was security for the future, and this they believed they could only find in the systematic oppression of the Roman Catholics. The penal code cannot be understood apart from this Williamite plantation. Its influence, as far as it was an instrument of persecution, has been exaggerated, while its bearing on the land problem has been overlooked. The Williamite settlement made wider the gulf that divides landlord and tenant in Ireland. In an important letter of the 20th of November 1697, King gives what he conceives to be the proper method of conducting plantations. "We have had," he holds, "many rebellions since the first conquest of Ireland, and many bills of attainder, but they have not yet had the desired effect, for this reason only that larger portions of the forfeitures were given to one man who took no care to plant them with English, but continued the old tenants on them—these had still a dependence on their old landlords, and on the first opportunity turned to them, and were ready to head them in their next rebellion, this as I take it is now admitted by all that give an account of the causes of Ireland not being conquered effectually hitherto: particularly Sir J. Davis and the Act of Absentees. Now I am afraid we are fallen into the same error and that the passing the bill of attainder has laid the foundation of another rebellion, which will certainly happen if not prevented. If the parties could be obliged to plant the land his Majesty has given them with Protestants, it would go a great way to prevent it, but this cannot be done without an act of Parliament, and I am afraid that those who had interest enough to procure the bill of attainder will likewise be able to prevent that which only can make it a public good. . . . I do not grudge his Majesty's bounty for his servants but I will maintain it were better for Ireland to present his Majesty with a million of money to gratify the deserving than that the forfeited lands should not be effectually planted with English. His Majesty, I suppose, will now disband many troops. It's hard that those that purchased peace for us

with their blood should be the only losers by it. If every disbanded soldier had a [share] of forfeited land assigned him, as it was constantly done among the Romans on the conclusion of a war, it would effectually plant the kingdom, preserve the soldiers from running into foreign service, and would encourage others hereafter to take arms in defence of their liberties and country, but I am afraid this may be looked on as an Utopian project.”¹

¹ King MSS. (T.C.D.); 917 (Brit. Mus.), f. 183, f. 161.

CHAPTER IX

PARLIAMENT AND THE PENAL CODE

WHEN the Act passed for the security of the king's person William was already on his death-bed. A fall from his horse and the fracture of his collar-bone told on an enfeebled constitution, and within a few months of the death of James II. at St. Germain's his son-in-law followed him to the grave. Each died in his mother's land, and James was scarcely more an exile than William. The new sovereign, Queen Anne, carried on the policy of her great predecessor. In European politics the change proved of some moment, but in Irish matters of very slight importance. Ireland was still treated as a colony whose interests must at all times and in all places be sacrificed to those of the mother country. Thoughtful men saw that there was little hope for the country so long as 'this idea dominated the system of administration. By Poynings' law the Irish Parliament was completely subordinate to the Crown. No enactment could be made without the prior sanction of the English Council, and the powers of initiation possessed by the Irish Parliament were limited to the right of suggesting to an unsympathetic and sometimes hostile Irish Privy Council such measures as the Parliament would like to see introduced. For the purpose of collective action it was in the plight of M. Noirtier de Villefort in *Monte Cristo*, who was completely paralysed except for one eye. Like him the Parliament possessed only a single faculty, that of saying Yes or No. At the most it might help forward a good Bill, or hinder a bad Bill, but there its authority ended. A member might see

many defects in a Bill sent over by the English Privy Council, but he could not propose amendments to remedy them. The principle of the measure might be quite sound and the drawbacks not grave, still complete acceptance or complete rejection was the only power that remained to him. It is little wonder that the House of Commons clung so tenaciously to the sole right of originating money bills when one remembers how shadowy were its rights in regard to ordinary legislation. Parliament remained in the unfortunate position of having powers indeed, but not power enough to make them effective. Rights it possessed but no duties were allowed it. Members might talk a great deal, but they could not act. What always occurs when office is divorced from responsibility happened to its members. They began to pay more heed to private interest than to national welfare. The Parliament was managed by Government officials, who undertook to bring members to a reasonable frame of mind by arguments potent if not always patent. Little public spirit was shown because genuine opportunity for its exercise was lacking. King, in his correspondence, is always deploring the lack of support he received in his attempts to achieve the independence of the Parliament. Men thought there was but little chance of his success ; that little they made less by their inaction.

England has been connected with Ireland for over seven hundred years, and during this long period has, roughly speaking, tried three plans of governing it. The first plan—the one in active use throughout our period—began with Poynings' law and lasted for nearly three centuries, until its repeal in 1782. The Crown exercised supreme control over affairs and the Parliament resembled, in some respects, the Parliament of Paris, which had the right to register royal edicts or, unless overridden by a *lit de justice*, to refuse such registration. Unlike the Parliament of Paris, the Irish Parliament could do little else. The House of Commons had some power over supplies, but there its authority ended. All the Parliaments that met under this system bring to light its many drawbacks

and disclose few merits. In 1782 the ideas of King and Molyneux were crowned with success, for the Irish Parliament became a sovereign body like that of England. Its short history of eighteen years scarcely enables us to judge how far the second system England adopted was likely to prove a permanent success. Its electoral basis was narrow, for none but Protestants might be returned. Its relations with the Parliament of England were not carefully considered, and it is obvious that two sovereign bodies, revolving round different centres, are liable at times to clash, unless much forethought has been exercised in assigning to each its distinct orbit. Such impact is likely to prove dangerous to one or other. No genuine foresight was shown in this case, so that we find it extremely difficult to draw valid conclusions from the short but brilliant history of the Independent Parliament. One fact, however, stands out prominently. This Irish Parliament, composed exclusively of Protestants, largely Churchmen, was so much in advance of its age as to propose, in 1793, to consider Roman Catholics as citizens. The law presumed that no such beings, politically speaking, existed. In reality, they formed a large majority of the population, not a despised minority who might be tolerated with the indifference which comes from conscious strength. With the Act of Union the sovereign Irish Parliament ceased to exist, and a third system came into operation. Ireland enters the English Parliament as a member of a sovereign body, and relinquishes its power of actual self-government in return for the right to share in governing the neighbouring kingdoms.

In the early years of the eighteenth century some statesmen perceived the evil of the first system, and their thoughts anxiously turned to the third plan. No doubt the example of Scotland may, to some extent, have accounted for this, but there remains evidence that the evils of the first method—apart from the powerful influence of imitation in legislation—had rendered some men deeply dissatisfied with its continuance.¹ In the year

¹ Cf. *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, 201-206.

1695 we meet with an anonymous communication, which expresses the hope that the Parliament will bring about a union of both kingdoms, for the writer fears that there is danger to England from the present government of Ireland, and that the assurances of the Irish Parliament in this connection are entirely untrustworthy.¹ From another standpoint than that of the danger to England, Molyneux and King favoured the union of the two countries. Molyneux, in his treatise, maintained in 1698 that if the Parliament of England bound Ireland, the latter ought to be able to send members to it. "And this," he notes, "I believe we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is a happiness we can hardly hope for."² In this aspiration Archbishop King concurred, though with considerable misgivings. On the 11th of February 1701 he wrote to the Bishop of Clogher: "I have thought much of our union to England and believe it will prove more difficult than many imagine. We have this disadvantage that we must just take what is given us, for we can't struggle. Two or three preliminaries should be adjusted. 1. What should be our proportion of taxes; this ought to be unalterable, fundamental, and I think no better measures can be taken than from the custom books: let those of England and Ireland be compared from three years to three years, and the quota adjusted according to the trade, for the land will follow that always. 2. Nothing can or ought to be binding till assented to by both Parliaments by way of bargain, so that one may not alter anything without the other that is once agreed. 3. That none serve for Ireland that do not live in it, and have the bulk

¹ Add. 21,236 (Brit. Mus.), *Southwell Correspondence*, f. 2.

² Cf. Sir R. Cox, Oct. 28, 1699, Dublin: "And perhaps a few yeares will convince you that you must not only take as much care of our properties as your owne, but also that it is your interest to unite and incorporate us with England, for that by that means the English interest will be always prevalent here, and the kingdome as secure to you as Wales or any county in England. Your taxes will be lessened when we beare part of the burden. Your force will be augmented, especially at sea. Your fleet when one squadron of it hath its station at Kinsale, will have double the effect upon any enemy it has now; all our money will still center in London, and our trade and communication with England will be soe considerable that we shall think ourselves at home when there; and where one goes thither now, ten will goe, when all our business is transacted in your Parliament, to which if we send 64 knights for our 32 counties, and 10 Lords and 6 Bishops, they may spend our money but cannot influence your counccills to your disadvantage" (*Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2. 610, Portland MSS.).

of their estate there. 4. As to the number of representatives, the design is chiefly to represent our case in Parliament rather than our persons or to vote for us, for what can our number signify? Yet I think it cannot be less than one for every county and city, that is a county: which will be above forty, as to all those that have no estates in Ireland, they ought to be cut off, all those likewise that have estates and lordships both in Ireland and England, then all those that shall be new made by the King except created for England as well as Ireland, lastly all Roman Catholic lords, and then there remains about thirty, let them choose six of their own body to sit in the House of Lords as their representatives and that new faces may not come there. I doubt it must be during life but it were more reasonable otherwise. Last for the bishops there are four provinces and about twenty-two bishops, let them choose four for theirs. But all this is our loss, much more the King, but I am afraid his Majesty has lost his prerogative already beyond retrieve, and our rights are so trampled on that I know not when they rise.”¹

In 1706 he writes to Mr. Annesley, expressing his fears that the approaching union of England with Scotland will exercise a malign influence upon Irish trade, and another letter to Southwell gives utterance to this dread.² “I believe,” he continues, “this step (*i.e.* the Scottish Union) will prevent any union with Ireland for ever, a thing earnestly desired by many, though to me the advantages are not so clear. . . . But I am given to understand that it is not very safe for a man to speak too freely of this affair, ’tis not possible for us to do anything here except it were in Parliament, and we are so constituted that I doubt whether anything would be done there except first directed by the government.”³

In a tract entitled *Considerations concerning Ireland*,

¹ King MSS., T.C.D.

² Sept. 17 and Oct. 15, 1706 (King MSS., T.C.D.).

³ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin). Ormonde to the Lords Justices, Oct. 31, 1706. Private information has reached the Duke of some probable representation in Ireland against the union, desires the Lords Justices to make inquiries very privately into the matter. The date of King’s letter is Oct. 15, 1706.

and particularly in respect of a Union, written about 1703, much evidence is gathered by the author in this matter.¹ As he writes from the settlers' point of view he holds that their estates belong to England "from the sums of money which England had spent to rescue them from the Irish." He shakes himself more or less free from the errors of the commercial theories which then held sway, for he does not think that the prosperity of Ireland necessarily means the decline of England. He argues that with a separate parliament Ireland unconsciously regards herself as a distinct kingdom, not as a constituent portion of England, and states that "having no representatives in the Parliament at Westminster, the wildest calumnies against them pass unanswered there"—an evil which would obviously be remedied by a parliamentary union. The following year Henry Maxwell wrote his *Essay on Union of Ireland with England*. The gist of his argument is the same as that of his predecessor's. He considers that so far the rule of England in Ireland had been in type either that of the soldier or that of the merchant. The land might be kept in subjection by an army, but a standing army was a menace to England. The people might be depressed by trade restrictions, though they would then become alienated from England. "But on the other hand [that] the Celtic and the Saxon temperaments were not in themselves incompatible was proved by the example of Wales; and if the methods which had proved successful in Wales were applied to Ireland, the same result would follow." The Englishman in Wales could still vote for the return of a representative to the Parliament in Westminster, but the Englishman in Ireland had no part or parcel in the mother of parliaments. "The true and complete remedy would be a union. The colonists, when represented in the Imperial Parliament, would no longer

¹ In 9715 (Brit. Mus.) a letter of Feb. 26, 170³/₄ speaks of the hope of a union. *S.P., Ireland*, Anne, vol. 363 (Record Office, London), Oct. 2, 1703. The House of Commons petitioned the Lord-Lieutenant "to have a more comprehensive and entire union."

gravitate towards the Irish, but would rather draw the Irish with them into closer sympathy with England. . . . Her condition, having her own members to speak for her, would be understood. Her wealth, if she became rich, would be English wealth, her grievances would be English grievances, and the trade of dishonest schemers, who, in the severed condition of Ireland, found means of promoting their own ends, would be closed for ever."

The anonymous writer of 1695, William Molyneux in his book in 1698, William King in 1701, the pamphleteer of 1703, Henry Maxwell in his tractate of 1704, all tendered the same advice to England, but the remedy proposed was coldly rejected. The year that saw the Scottish Union accomplished witnessed an address from the Irish House of Lords in favour of a similar union between England and Ireland. The Irish House of Commons did not yet favour it, and English commercial feeling was hostile to it: nothing therefore came of the proposal at the time.¹

By England's treatment of Ireland one is forcibly reminded of a trait in the character of James I., who was accustomed to defer concessions until they were robbed of all grace. Similarly England, in the early years of the eighteenth century, refused to Ireland the union that so many publicists advocated, and yet was surprised when the grant of union, nearly a century later, was met with the same coldness that she herself had displayed when the demand was first made. *Bis dat qui cito dat* is a maxim of wide application, and the statesman who forgets or ignores it must be prepared to reap a harvest of political ingratitude.

In order to direct the attention of the colonists from considering the great problem of the existing relations between the two countries, an attempt was made to placate them by concessions to some of their minor pre-

¹ Lecky, *Essays*, 75: "If it had been carried, Ireland would have been at least saved from the evils that rose from the commercial restrictions and from the extreme jobbing that grew up around the local legislature, and she would, perhaps, have been saved from some parts of the penal code. But the golden opportunity was lost. The English commercial classes dreaded Irish competition in their markets, and the petition of the Irish legislature was disregarded."

judices. Rochester retired from the Government, and he was succeeded by the Duke of Ormonde, who combined a natural claim to high office in the country in which lay his vast estates, with the prestige of a great name. The Privy Council, looking upon the nascent nationalism of the colonists as a source of grave political danger, set themselves to thwart the movement they dreaded. Anticipating in a manner the Austrian policy of balancing country against country within the Empire, the Government began to see the opportunities they desired in connection with the land system of Ireland. Undoubtedly the land must be annexed to the English interest, but was there not a faint possibility that the Roman Catholic interest might be used to check the political aspirations of the settlers, and thus secure an equilibrium of national forces whereby England's advantage should be permanently maintained?

Anne's first Irish Parliament met in Dublin in the autumn of 1703, when Alan Broderick was chosen speaker.¹ By the workings of Poynings' Act the Privy Council of Ireland controlled the Parliament as effectually as the Committee of Articles controlled the Parliament of Scotland. This control was much assisted by the fact that from 1703 to 1787 Parliament met only in alternate years, thus constituting another difference between Irish procedure and English. In this way the working of the great statute of 1497 was assisted, while in another way at this time it was seriously checked. In order to understand the check it is necessary to point out that after 1688 Parliament persisted in its claim to originate legislation. The address of the House of Commons to the Viceroy in 1615 marked the beginning of this important change.² For then ordinary members began to introduce heads of Bills, passed them through their own House, and then submitted them to the Viceroy, with a request that they might be transmitted by the Privy Council of Ireland to England. On re-transmission they were submitted to both Houses, and when passed they received the royal

¹ Add. 28,952 (Brit. Mus.), the *Ellis Papers*; Add. 29,589 *Hatton Finch Papers*, f. 269, 294, 306, 308, 310.

² *House of Commons Journals*, i. 58.

assent in the same way as Bills which had originated with the Government of the day. The precedent laid down in the case of Francis Echlin is suggestive. Echlin was about to marry a Roman Catholic and his eldest son petitioned the House of Commons for a parliamentary settlement of the estates already settled upon him. To this petition the House assented, and passed a resolution declaring "that the House doth agree with the said committee that the several heads in the report mentioned shall be heads of a bill to be presented to the Lord-Lieutenant in Council, in order that a bill may be prepared and transmitted to England."¹ The influence of this noteworthy precedent is obvious in the legislation of the remaining years of this period. From 1703 to 1713 Bills originated as frequently with the Parliament as with the administration. A standing order of 1703 proves this decisively. It laid down "that no heads of any private bill be brought into the House but upon a petition preferred to the House; nor until the matter of such petition and the nature of the heads hath been reported by a committee with their opinion thereon."² When three or four members agreed to present the heads of a Bill—in practice this became the Bill itself—on the second reading it was referred to a committee. If the latter approved of these heads they came before the House for a third reading. The impotence of the Irish House of Lords is shown in the last stage, for it was ignored. The heads of the proposed measure were sent direct to the Viceroy, asking him to transmit them from the Privy Council of Ireland to that of England. Even after 1703 the Privy Councils of both countries could alter the heads of the Bill both before and after transmission to London. On the return of the heads from the metropolis to Dublin the House of Commons might accept or reject them, but could not amend them. If the lower House passed the measure the upper was then bound to accept it or reject it, but could in no wise alter it. Directly, then, the Irish lords were impotent, but

¹ *House of Commons Journals*, Oct. 22, 1692, ii. 22-23.

² *Ibid.* ii. 112.

indirectly their power was not inconsiderable, for many of them belonged to the Privy Council. The impressions of Arthur Young of the Irish House of Commons deserve quotation: "I heard many eloquent speeches," he wrote, "but I cannot say they struck me like the exertion of the abilities of Irishmen in the English House of Commons, owing perhaps to the reflection, both on the speaker and auditor, that the Attorney-General of England with a dash of his pen can revise, alter, or entirely do away with the matured results of all the eloquence and all the abilities of this whole assembly."¹

The tone of the Parliament of 1703 can be judged by the first measure that was proposed. In England no Roman Catholic could buy or inherit real estate, but in Ireland he had so far been merely forbidden to purchase forfeited property. It was now proposed to extend the English Act in all its completeness to Ireland. Though Roman Catholic bishops and priests were not allowed as a matter of right to remain in the country, their presence in point of fact had been tolerated. When, however, permission was denied the peasants to purchase or to inherit farms their tenure of the soil was inevitably doomed.

The first important measure passed was one for the extension of a statute made in the seventh year of William's reign for banishing priests and for preventing them from coming from abroad.² The preamble laid down that they "do daily come into this Kingdom from France and Spain and other foreign parts . . . with intent to stir up her Majesty's Popish subjects to rebellion; and for that sufficient proof to convict them cannot be had, they have hitherto remained in this Kingdom contrary to the statute." "The act of the last session," according to Ormonde, "extended only to dignitaries and regulars; but it being found by experience, that secular priests, educated beyond the sea, among her Majesty's enemies, did imbibe their sentiments, and at their return did be-

¹ A. Young, *Tour in Ireland*, i. 20.

² 2 Anne c. 3. Cf. 9 Will. iii. 1; 8 Anne 3. C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), R. Warre to J. Dawson, Oct. 31, 1704, gives the tone of this Parliament. S.P., *Ireland*, Entry Books (Record Office, London), vol. 3, f. 158.

come incendiaries to rebellion, it was conceived necessary to prohibit their return, and the new act was, in fact, but to reinforce a good law already in being against foreign education.”¹ Accordingly the first clause enacted that every priest “coming into this Kingdom” was liable to all the penalties of the old Act. Under this comprehensive clause the seculars were included as well as the regulars. All persons harbouring, relieving, or concealing them were to be liable to exactly the same penalties as the ecclesiastics themselves. All subjects were required to use the utmost diligence in apprehending them; the careless magistrate was to be fined £100 for each act of negligence, and half this amount was to be paid to the informer. The Act as passed was to be in force for a period of fourteen years, but subsequently its provisions were made perpetual.² In order to complete the work of this statute another Act for registering the Popish clergy was enacted.³ All priests then in Ireland were required to send in returns of their names, abode, ages, time and place of receiving Holy Orders; they were also required to give security for good behaviour and were not to remove to other parts of the kingdom.⁴ One thousand and eighty complied with this decree. The penalty for breach of this Act was committal to gaol pending transportation, and the offending priest suffered the same punishment as bishops and regulars. A converted priest was allowed at first £20 annually, an amount that was afterwards increased to £30; he was to read the liturgy publicly in either English or Irish.⁵ No parish priest was allowed to keep

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland to the Earl of Nottingham, June 26. There are two volumes of these State Papers, edited by the late Sir Bernard Burke. So far they have been unpublished. Not many people seem aware of their existence. Vol. i. deals with 1683-1714, and vol. ii. with 1714-40.

² 2 Anne c. 7; cf. 9 Will. III. 1; 2 Anne 3.

³ 2 Anne 3.
⁴ 8 Anne 3.

⁵ Cf. 31 Charles II. 9. Cf. Arrest du Conseil, du 9 octobre 1676, qui sursoit pour trois ans les dettes des Religionnaires quant aux capitaux; Arrest du Conseil, du 18 novembre 1680, qui accorde à tous ceux de la R.P.R. qui ont fait ou feront ci-après abjuration de ladite Religion, terme et délai de trois ans pour le paiement du capital de leurs dettes; Ordonnance du Roy, du 11 avril 1681, portant exemption des Logemens de Gens de Guerre et Contribution à iceux pendant deux ans, en faveur de ceux qui étans de la R.P.R. se sont convertis et faits Catholiques depuis le premier Janvier dernier, et qui se convertiront cy-après; Arrest du Conseil, du 5 novembre 1685; Arrest du Conseil, du 8 janvier 1689, qui ordonne qu’il sera arrêté au Conseil, de quartier en quartier,

a curate, assistant, or coadjutor. This statute was at first enacted for a period of five years, but, like the previous measure, was afterwards made perpetual. In order to ensure that the measure should not resemble so many others in being unenforced, it was to be embodied in the judge's charges at every assizes and the list of priests openly read.¹ In mediæval time it is quite common to meet with an acknowledged law universally ignored, and, in spite of the injunction to read it aloud, this measure resembled the laws of the Middle Ages. It was no more than a pious resolution which might be enforced in a crisis, but otherwise it need not be much considered by a practical politician.²

The most important statute of the session was the notorious Act to prevent the further growth of Popery.³ Intolerant as was the Irish Parliament of those days this Act cannot be placed against their account, for it was the work of the English Council. It aimed at doing to Roman Catholicism, though of course on a smaller scale, what the followers of Loyola had tried to accomplish by means of the Counter-Reformation, *i.e.* prevent the recovery of lost ground. It was expressly designed for the purpose of hindering Roman Catholics from inheriting or purchasing estates owned by Protestants. The corresponding English statute forbade them to inherit or to purchase lands anywhere or for any one. This was softened down by the Irish Privy Council, which allowed them to inherit and purchase lands from one another. This leniency may be contrasted with the clause which, despite the articles of Limerick, ordered that all Papists, save twenty merchants, should be compelled to leave Galway and Limerick, they "having been

des États des Pensions des nouveaux Convertis, sur les témoignages que Messieurs les Intendants rendront de leur conduite ; Arrest du Conseil, du premier août 1694, qui ordonne qu'en faveur des Nouveaux Convertis il sera incessamment procédé au recouvrement du tiers des revenus des Bénéfices vacans, destiné pour leur subsistence par Sa Majesté ; Arrest du Conseil, du 27 avril 1695, pour exempter les nommez par Sa Majesté aux Abbayes, dont partie des revenus de la première année de la vacancée a été destinée aux pauvres des lieux, d'en payer aux Nouveaux Convertis le tiers pendant ladite première année ; Déclaration du Roy, du 13 décembre 1698.

¹ Explained and amended by 4 Anne 2 ; made perpetual by 8 Anne 3.

² Cf. many of the mediæval Enclosure Acts.

³ 2 Anne c. 6.

in all rebellions of fatal consequence to the English.”¹ Ormonde, to his credit, protested, though unsuccessfully, against the insertion of this harsh provision.² In conformity with the English measure seducing a Protestant from his faith was made a criminal offence on the part of both the seducer and the seduced.³ The education of Irish subjects abroad was proceeded against in a most hostile fashion: the English statesman of that day regarded Paris in much the same light as his foreign successor now regards London, that is, as the place where conspiracies are hatched and assassinations of sovereigns planned. While, therefore, foreign education was restricted, parents at home were compelled to make an adequate allowance for their Protestant children. In this form the heads of the proposed Bill were transmitted to England for consideration.

In the meantime the House viewed the state of Ireland, and felt as strongly as any English Parliament on the matter of their grievances. Like the sister assembly they tried to make supply and redress go hand-in-hand. Ormonde required supplies for two years, and the Speaker, Solicitor-General Brodrick, encouraged the opposition. After a heated debate the supply was granted, but only by a majority of three on a division in which 241 members took part.

There was dissatisfaction with affairs in general, but particularly with respect to the decaying trade, the supremacy of the English Parliament, the failure of the plan of union, and the growing pension list. On the 29th of September they voted an address to Anne, protesting that they did not desire to make their country

¹ Contrast Lecky, i. 142; Lord Lieutenant and Council to Nottingham, June 26; C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin).

² C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Ormonde to Nottingham, June 29.

³ Cf. Édit du Roy, du mois de juin 1680, portant défenses aux Catholiques de quitter leur Religion pour professer la R.P.R.; Édit du Roy, du mois de juin 1683, pour empêcher que ceux de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine ne la quittent pour embrasser celle de Luther, ni Calvin, ou autre; Arrest du Conseil, du 16 juin 1681, qui défend aux Ministres et Anciens de la R.P.R. d’user d’aucunes menaces, intimidations, ou voyes de fait, pour empêcher la conversion de ceux de ladite Religion; Édit du Roy, du mois de février 1685, orders “punitions contre les Ministres et les Consistoires qui auront admis dans leurs Temples des Catholiques ‘pervertis’ et des enfants au-dessous de quatorze ans de nouveaux Convertis.”

independent, and declaring their conviction that their prosperity was bound up with their connection with England. On the 4th of October Southwell wrote "that the Commons had sate that day to consider the state of the nation ; and, after some hours' sitting and considering the many misfortunes the country lay under in point of trade and other circumstances, all the speakers concluded that they did in most earnest manner desire a Union with England."¹ To the request for a closer alliance the Queen merely replied "that she would give no particular answer at present, but would take the request into consideration."² But to her, as to the ruler of old, the opportunity never returned.

In October 1703 the Parliament, addressing the Queen, drew a lamentable picture of the state of the country. "We cannot, without the greatest grief of heart," they stated, "reflect upon the vast decay and loss of our trade, and this your Majesty's Kingdom's being almost exhausted of its coin ; we are hindered from earning our livelihoods, and from maintaining our own manufactures, and our poor are thereby become very numerous, especially the industrious Protestants, who in a country, wherein the number and power of the Papists is very formidable, ought (as we humbly conceive) to be encouraged. Very many Protestant families have been constrained to remove out of this Kingdom, as well into Scotland, as into the Dominions of foreign Princes and States. Our foreign trade and its returns are under such restrictions and discouragements, as to be become in a manner unprofitable, although this kingdom hath of late by its blood and treasure contributed to secure the plantation trade to England."³ At the close of the session they implored the Government to help them in their dire distress. "A people thus (loyally) affected," they say, "... deserve encouragement ; and it is to be hoped may be allowed such a proportion of trade that they may recover from the great poverty they

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin).

² *Commons Journals*, Feb. 11, 1704.

³ *Irish Commons Journals*, iii. 66. S.P., Ireland, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 363, Oct. 4, 1703.

now lie under.”¹ The rulers, dominated by the economic notions of the day, showed little sympathy with the piteous appeals. The interests of the mother country were to be served, let the cost to the daughter land be what it might.

In due course the act for the repression of Popery returned from England, and to it was added the Test Bill.² It was now declared that the perverter and the pervert were guilty of *praemunire*.³ In order to enforce strictly the foreign education act, it was enacted that no one under 21 should be sent beyond the seas without the special licence of the Queen or of the chief Governor and four Privy Councillors.⁴ That there might be no discouragement offered to conversion, the Protestant child of Roman Catholic parents must receive from them maintenance suitable to the degree and ability of the father and the age of the child.⁵ If the eldest son became a Protestant, the reversion in fee of the estate came to him, and his father was treated as a mere life tenant.⁶ No Roman Catholic could act as a guardian, and the Court of Chancery assigned this office to the nearest Protestant relative.⁷ Of course a Roman Catholic was not permitted to marry a Protestant, and a special Committee sat in 1707 in order to see that this clause was not, like so many others, to be taken as mere “sound and fury, signifying nothing.”⁸

No Roman Catholic was to be permitted to purchase real property; he was not even suffered to take a lease for more than 31 years. If the farm yielded him a profit amounting to more than one-third of the rental, any Protestant, discovering this fact, might evict him and claim the land for himself. A Roman Catholic at death must gavel his property among his family if they were all of his faith. The results were that all long leases were in the hands of the Protestant farmers, for the Roman Catholics could not

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, iii. 208.

² 6 Anne, c. 3. Add. 37,673, *Southwell Papers*, f. 25, 35; Ormonde MSS., p. 776.

³ Cf. 16 Richard II. 5 (Eng.).

⁴ Cf. 7 William III. 4.

⁵ Cf. 11 and 12 William III. 4 (Eng.); 8 Anne, 3.

⁶ Cf. 11 and 12 William III. 4 (Eng.); 3 George I. 18.

⁷ Cf. 6 George I. 9; 12 George I. 6; 1 George III. 4.

⁸ Cf. 9 William III. c. 3; 6 George I. 6.

legally compete with them. The former bought up these leases at low prices, and then disposed of the land at excessive rents to the latter. The exclusion of the Roman Catholics from long leases and low rents rendered short leases and high rents general. The outcome was that the large Roman Catholic estates became split up by degrees till they rivalled the *morcellement* in France to-day. All officials were forced to take the oath of abjuration, thus excluding all Roman Catholics.¹ Before Roman Catholics could vote at an election they must first take the oath of allegiance and abjuration—a requirement which practically disfranchised them.² In this connection an interesting point arises. The Roman Catholics were excluded on a technical point; their religion was not, as was the case with the Huguenots, formally proscribed. Hence there was some hope for the Irish Roman Catholic, but there was none for the Huguenot. The oath might be relaxed in the days to come when toleration gained ground. In Ireland—formally at least—detail, not principle, was concerned. On the other hand, with Louis the proscription involved principle, not detail. Save seamen, fishermen, and day labourers, Papists were not suffered to dwell either in Galway or Limerick.³ Pilgrimages to Holy Wells and St. Patrick's Purgatory were forbidden under the penalty of a fine or the whip. All crosses, pictures, and public inscriptions were to be demolished.

The really important object aimed at by this oppressive statute is the land of the Roman Catholic, not his faith.⁴ The Protestant coveted the possessions of the Roman Catholic, and religion served as well as any other pretext. Perhaps none of the penal laws exhibit so clearly as the

¹ Cf. 3 Will. and Mary 2, (Eng.); 1 George I. 13, stat. 2 (Eng.); 29 George II. 24; 1 Anne 22, stat. 1 (Eng.); 1 George II. 2.

² Cf. 7 and 8 Will. III. sect. 19 (Eng.); 6 Anne, 23, sect. 13 (Eng.); 2 George I. 19; 1 George II. 9. Cf. 3 James I. 5 (Eng.); 1 Will. and Mary, 26, sess. 1 (Eng.) C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), E. Southwell to J. Dawson, Oct. 23, 1707. No clause of the former bill repealed by this.

³ Cf. 17 and 18 Charles II. 2, sect. 36.

⁴ Bonn, II. 170. "The first object of the Penal Laws was to confine the Catholics to the property which was at that moment in their possession." Dr. Bonn cites the 1702 Act as a case in point.

foregoing the connection between this restrictive code and the revolution settlement of landed property. They were indeed the complement of the Forfeited Estates Act. Their aim was to prevent in every possible way any augmentation of the property of the Roman Catholics : what land they held they might perhaps keep, but they must not add to it. The gavelling of the farm was meant, sooner or later, to bring about such a minute division of the soil as to make the ownership of the tiny patch worthless from the point of view of influence in the state.

The sixteenth clause bore as severely on the dissenters as other clauses on the Roman Catholics.¹ In addition to taking the oath of abjuration the official must receive the Sacrament in church on Sunday within three months of his admittance to his employment. This provision pressed all the more severely on the non-Conformists because in Ireland there was no Toleration Act to mitigate its severity. Bishop Burnet suggests as a reason for its insertion that Lord Godolphin wanted to secure the rejection of the measure. If so, it failed to accomplish the plan of its author. The Presbyterians do not seem to have offered much serious opposition to this unexpected clause. "The Sacramental Test," remarks Southwell, "added to the Popery Bill, made a slight stir, which is dying off."²

The opposition that was wanting on the part of the non-Conformists was supplied by the Roman Catholics. Three barristers petitioned to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, and the favour was granted. The chief speaker was the Solicitor-General of the Viceroyalty of Tyrconnel, Sir Theobald Butler, and he was supported by Sir Stephen Rice, the former Chief Baron, and by Malone. The three advocates naturally rested their case upon the Articles of Limerick. The present measure took no account of the exemptions made in 1691. Since that time they had

¹ Cf. 3 Will. and Mary 2 (Eng.) ; 1 Anne 22, stat. 1. (Eng.) ; 1 George I. 13, stat. 2 (Eng.) ; 29 George II. 24.

² C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Southwell to Nottingham, Feb. 1704 ; *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 363, Feb. 10, 1703.
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committed no fresh offence, and were therefore undeserving of the proposed treatment. The Commons could not deny the violation of the treaty, and they weakly said "That any rights which the Papists pretended to be taken from them by the Bill were in their own power to remedy by conforming, as in prudence they ought to do, and that they ought not to blame any but themselves." The Roman Catholic protest was made, and made in vain. "The arguments," Southwell sums up, "were considered and answered, and all the clauses against the Papists passed unanimously, till we came to the sacramental test, on which we had a two hours' debate."¹ Among other measures passed were those imposing additional duties on beer, ale, and other liquors, tobacco, calicoes, linens and muslins.² Acts also received assent for the advance of the linen trade,³ the naturalisation of all Protestant strangers,⁴ the improvement of the hemp and flax manufactures,⁵ the reduction of interest to eight per cent for the future,⁶ the planting and preserving of trees and woods,⁷ the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices,⁸ the relief of poor prisoners for debt,⁹ the prevention of the illegal raising of money by grand juries and the misapplying of money legally raised,¹⁰ the mending of the high-ways,¹⁰ the exaction of tolls,¹¹ the regulation of weights,¹² and the cessation of horse-stealing.¹³ The usual statutes against tories, rapparees, and robbers once more appeared, and furnish melancholy evidence of the unguarded state of the kingdom.¹⁴ These measures do not attract so much attention as the notorious Popery Act, but they show that the members made some attempts, not at all unwise, to raise the land from its depressing condition.

The declining trade and the emigration of the artisans subsequently proved to the Government that they had

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Southwell to Nottingham, Feb. 26, 1704; 9715 (Brit. Mus.), f. 87; *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 363, Dec. 28, 1703; Nov. 27, 1703; Feb. 26, 170³.

² 2 Anne 1; 2 Anne 4; 4 Anne 1.

³ 4 Anne 3.

⁶ 2 Anne 16.

⁹ 4 Anne 13.

¹² 4 Anne 14.

⁴ 2 Anne 14.

⁷ 2 Anne 2; 4 Anne 9.

¹⁰ 4 Anne 6.

¹³ 4 Anne 11.

⁵ 4 Anne 4.

⁸ 4 Anne 5.

¹¹ 4 Anne 8.

¹⁴ 2 Anne 13.

committed a grave error of judgment in imposing the Sacramental Test. These considerations were reinforced by the possibility of the Pretender sending troops to Ireland in order to take advantage of the discontent there.¹ Moved by the dissatisfaction with which the Union was regarded in Scotland, he contemplated going there, and a plot was formed. With the Scottish plans was combined a plan for landing French troops in Galway. Unlike the Scotch, the Irish have not the faculty of conspiring successfully, and the Government became aware of the ramifications of the plot. The letters of Archbishop King at this time are filled with references to the dismay caused among the people by the news of the design ; it, however, makes little impression on him. On the 28th of February 1707 he writes to the Archbishop of Tuam : " We are amused here with an invasion intended from France. Most sentiments are different about it. Some reckon it with the alarm of eight thousand Irish cutting all the throats in England, at one and the same time, others, and those in great numbers, are ready to swear that if Mr. H——y² had continued in his place three days longer the French had landed at Thetford. But observe the great advantage of the change, the chief danger is over, and we have fifty ships in the channel to oppose them."³ The same day he wrote to Swift : " This was H——y's² plot, and if he had continued three days longer in his place the French would have landed at Greenwich, others think it an amusement to divert the succors designed for Spain."⁴ On the 13th of March he communicated with Southwell : " The people here are almost frightened out of their wits with the fear of an invasion ; we want two

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Ormonde to the Lords Justices, May 2, 1704. Designs in France as to the invasion of Scotland or Ireland. *Ibid.* Same to same, Nov. 26, 1706. It might not be difficult for Mr. Allen, Collector of Donaghadee, to find out the disposition of the western parts of Scotland, and to have that way early notice if there should happen any commotion. *Ibid.* G. Doddington to J. Dawson,

Mar. 13, 170⁷/₈. Vigour and anxiety of the Government with reference to the attempt from Dunkirk. The small force of 5000 accompanying the Pretender on so vast a design as subduing three kingdoms leads to the conclusion that his hopes rest on those in Scotland and Ireland who will join him. *Ibid.* Same to same, Nov. 23, 1708.

² Mr. Harley.

³ King MSS. (T.C.D.).

⁴ King MSS. (T.C.D.).

packets, and that makes the apprehension greater.”¹ Three days afterwards he tells the Archbishop: “We have taken all possible pains to secure ourselves, though we are not in a capacity to do all we would. The invasion seems to us an unaccountable thing, that they should attempt it with five thousand men and twenty-six ships, when we have double the number to attend them in a strange project.”² On the 7th of April 1708 he tells him: “I am apt to think that the people of Ireland were not let into the secret of this invasion, it seems to have been a very narrow design. Some think it principally against the Castle of Edinburgh, where there was only two rounds of powder and six hundred thousand pounds . . . and had not our fleet been ready I do not see how they could have missed it.”² The same day he informs Swift: “All thought of fight had been laid aside in Ireland, as much as if we could never be attacked; a militia was an abomination to many. What need for such when we have now standing troops on our establishment, and those punctually paid? But so it happens that we really have but four thousand eight hundred, hardly a gun mounted, in the whole kingdom, forts generally slight, no army and little powder. And now on a sudden we must raise a militia which after all has not proved impossible, for I doubt but in a month’s time we shall have forty thousand listed, and those good hearty men that generally understand arms if they had them.”²

These extracts from the private correspondence of the great Archbishop bring before us in vivid fashion the doubts and dismays to which even his resolute heart fell

¹ On the alarm caused by the French privateers, cf. C.S.P., MSS. (Dublin), for Jan. 20, 1701; Jan. 29, 170³/₄; May 23, 1704; June 10, 1704; Mar. 10, 1705; Apr. 17, 1707; Apr. 29, 1708; May 12, 1707; June 3, 1708; Jan. 24, 1709; Feb. 14, 170⁹/₁₀; July, 1711. *Ibid.* Aug. 25, 1703; May 9, 1704; Sept. 19, 1709; Nov. 8, 1709; 9716 (Brit. Mus.); Add. 28,940 (Brit. Mus.); Add. 21,137 (Brit. Mus.), *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv. 2, 478-79; Add. 37,531, f. 39; Add. 21,133, June 8 and 29, 1704; Cf. also *S.P., Dom.*, Signet Office (Record Office, London), f. 296, Mar. 5, 1699; *S.P., Ireland*, Entry Books (Record Office, London), vol. 4, July 27, 1710; Sept. 29, 1711; April 1711.

² King MSS. (T.C.D.).

at times a victim. His statesmanlike mind saw the futility of the design, yet it is plainly evident that he was perplexed. This perplexity was shared by the government, and its members resolved to relax the stringency of the Sacramental Test. Accordingly Ormonde was replaced in the summer of 1707 by the Earl of Pembroke, who brought with him as his secretary George Doddington.

That there was some foundation for the popular fears is now evident in the private correspondence of the time. The rulers knew somewhat of it, and probably made a shrewd guess as to how matters stood.¹ But could they have known it, as we know it, they would have seen many additional reasons for not treating the non-conformists harshly. A most careful state paper was drawn up for the benefit of Louis XIV. in 1705 on the best means of effecting a rising for the Pretender.² The mistakes of the Jacobite war are analysed by the compilers with a view to avoiding similar errors in the immediate future. They judge that it is as easy to find men to take up arms now as at that time. James II. shortly after his arrival in Ireland found close on a hundred thousand men resolved to follow him through everything. It is evident from this glorification of the numbers that they were determined to view the situation through rose-coloured glasses. They point out that though the Prince of Orange offered the Jacobites very advantageous conditions, yet they preferred to be exposed to hardships, and lose all rather than abandon their legitimate king. They have been despoiled of their goods, religion, and liberty, and of all that man holds dear in the world. Naturally they want to avenge their wrongs, and this they can never hope to do save with sword in hand. In passing it may be remarked that it was the consciousness of this fact that inspired some of the

¹ See a letter of Edward Harley to Sir Edward Harley, Apr. 1, 1699: "These is now a certain account of the landing of the French in Ireland. It is greatly feared that they will fall upon our ships that lay upon those seas to transport our army." *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv. 2; Portland MSS. 603; Add. 37,531, f. 33, gives an account of a discovery made to the Lords Justices, 1702, of a design to invade France from Ireland; *S.P., Ireland*, Entry Books (Record Office, London), vol. 3, f. 139; *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 363, Dec. 24, 1703.

² Gualterio MSS., 20,311 (Brit. Mus.).

severest measures against the Roman Catholics. The Protestant felt that these must be rebels at heart, for he would have been such had he been in their unfortunate position. He certainly regarded it as practically inevitable that they would favour the Pretender and oppose the Hanoverian ruler. As the inhabitants of Ireland had no just cause to defend the present government, it is obvious that in a very short time French invaders would have as brave an army as one could wish. The plotters point out the advisability of a simultaneous descent upon Scotland, and suggest the despatch of a detachment of each Irish regiment in France with officers, arms for thirty or forty thousand men, and provisions of war for a time sufficient to make them masters of the place. The places most suitable, most commodious, and nearest to France, where a descent can very easily be made, are south or south-west of Castlehaven, Crookhaven, Baltimore, and Bantry, four villages well removed from Cork and Kinsale, and not more than a hundred leagues from France. The Shannon near Limerick is another possible landing spot, for it is commodious even for forty thousand men. Besides, many Roman Catholics would at once flock to their standards from Kenmare, Valencia, Ventry, Dingle, and Smerwick. They note with practical eyes that at the edge of the sea the land is not so fertile as inland, and it is to these places the Roman Catholics have been forced. Still it is possible to rest there a fortnight and form a considerable army capable of marching. In the country, according to them, there are a hundred Roman Catholics for every Protestant. No fortified places can stop their progress till they reach Dublin, for the fortifications of Limerick are in complete ruin. The best time for the descent is the end of May or the beginning of June, for then all the troops are out of the kingdom to act elsewhere, the forage is abundant, the raising of men is at that season easily done, and they will not ask for enlistment money as in France. They suggest the embarkation of the troops at Bordeaux and Bayonne under the pretence that they are designed for Spain, where war was being briskly waged. With insight

into Celtic nature they say that the prelates, priests, and chiefs, must be won over for "tous les Catholiques généralement se laissent gouverner par leurs chefs et par les Ecclésiastiques."¹ Of course the proposed expedition would cost Louis a great deal, still it would render him greater service than thirty thousand men in France, for it would break up all the plans of England. That country would be *in extremis* if attacked on the one side by Scotland and on the other by Ireland. She would be obliged to remove her troops for the defence of her own shores, and unable to furnish more money to the allies, and the evil would be attacked at its source by dipping into the purse of the League. The sanguine schemes draw a bright picture for the sovereign who sorely wanted encouragement at this particular time. Holland would be ruined, Portugal and Savoy would become resourceless, the Emperor would not know what to do, and though the Spanish might be distressed by the fear that France would make peace at their expense, a successful issue to the policy outlined would remove despondency from the Italians, and hostile fleets from the coasts of Spain and Portugal and from the Mediterranean. The two electors of Bavaria and Cologne would soon be re-established and the call to arms would be heard in Ireland rather than in France. England could no more draw a large revenue from her Irish subjects, and France would drive an increased trade with them.

With Tyrconnel and Napoleon—to take widely different men—they agree in designing the entire independence of both Ireland and Scotland ; when England is thus shorn of two fair provinces she in her turn will feel the pains of partition treaties, and, above all, she will never be able to strive with France again. We ask, they plead, for money which, spent in this undertaking, will save the King ten times as much elsewhere, for the English envoy despatches forty thousand men against the King in Flanders or in other parts. His Majesty must oppose to these an equal number of men, not to speak of the expense of their pay,

¹ Add. 20,312 (Brit. Mus.).

clothes and munitions of war. If England sends ten millions more for the upkeep of the troops on the continent, France must expend a similar sum. If one million of this money suffice for Ireland, there is a clear saving for the King, and ultimately the pay of the troops will be defrayed by Ireland. By this diversion we would place the Princess Anne in the necessity of withdrawing her troops from the Low Countries or else losing her own Kingdoms.

A second paper, reminding one of the plans of Napoleon, discusses how Ireland should be governed. Of course the Roman Catholics should be freed from the stern laws of England, and the nation should be declared independent of its rule but not of its legitimate King, for "*cela contribuerait beaucoup au bien de la Religion, au établissement du roi, à l'intérêt de la France, et l'Europe en tireroit de très grands avantages à cause de la proximité de ces deux pays et des secours d'hommes, de chevaux, et de provisions que Écosse en cas de besoin peut tirer d'Irlande.*"¹ The plotters distinguish two kinds of Roman Catholics, referring probably to the English Jacobite and the Irish. For those who lost goods in the time of Elizabeth there remains no hope, though some is held out to those who suffered from the usurpations of Cromwell. The northern people, they note, are much in the interests of the Scots and in that quarter they may be secured, for the Scots are the sworn enemies of England and of the English Church: a certain peer can manage them. The land question is to be solved by halving the property of the Roman Catholics and Protestants since Charles II.'s great Act, and redistributing in more equitable proportion, thus ensuring the greater content of each class. This solution will, they think, unite colonist and peasant against the English, and both will desire the independence of Ireland. The religious problem is to be solved, on very tolerant lines, by the guarantee of entire liberty of conscience. Roman Catholics and Protestants are to be admitted on equal terms to all employments, civil and military alike; the army is to be equally composed of

¹ Add. 20,311 (Brit. Mus.).

both faiths, and the goods of the Church are to be shared equally. In order to persuade the ruling class to favour the scheme it is suggested that the Duke of Ormonde and others should be allowed to retain the confiscated lands in their possession.¹

This elaborate "grand design" suggests in no doubtful way that the King of France had never quite discarded his dream of using Ireland to ensure his victory in the international game of political chess. "La politique," according to Prince Bismarck, "est l'art de s'accommoder aux circonstances et de tirer parti de tout même de ce qui déplaît." Such schemes as these were eminently displeasing to the governing class of Ireland, but it was evident that they must be met. Two methods of doing so presented themselves before their minds, either of which would have produced a vast result upon the destinies of Ireland. Indirectly the adoption of these far-reaching counter-plans would have given Louis XIV. a stronger claim than ever to be regarded as one of the creators of modern Ireland. One was suggested by the action of the French monarch himself. He had expelled the Huguenots from their native land, and it was now proposed to utilise them in an attempt to spread manufacturing industries in Ireland.² Lewis Crommelin, "that skilful undertaker,"³ had started the linen trade some seven years before. The inhabitants of the north were then, we are informed, entirely ignorant of the art of managing and working flax, spinning the yarn,

¹ After a war one ought to write not only the history of what has happened, but also the history of what was intended; the narrative would then be instructive (Von der Goltz).

² *Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, xcvi. 57,411. The Lords Justices to Ormonde, Feb. 1, 1705. *Ibid.* cii. 29,509. J. Dawson to Southwell, May 23, 1707: Dawson answers seven objections made to the proposal to go to Kilkenny. *Ibid.* 1702-7, ci. 18,485. "The English Parliament, conceiving the woollen manufacture in Ireland (managed by English inhabitants) might become prejudicial to the same manufacture in England . . . prohibited its manufacture in Ireland: but determined that the linen manufacture would be beneficial to both kingdoms. . . . Mr. Crommelin, whom they (*i.e.* the trustees) sent to Holland, had brought the manufacture to great perfection in the north of Ireland. They thought that the English in the other three provinces, who were the only persons that lost the woollen manufacture (and who were reduced to a miserable condition), should then share in the linen trade, and further that Mr. Crommelin with part of his colony of workmen should be removed to Kilkenny." Add. 21,132 (Brit. Mus.).

³ 9717 (Brit. Mus.).

and whitening the cloth; they had at that time little practical acquaintance with the looms and other indispensable machinery. In spite of these drawbacks they quickly adapted themselves to the employment, and cloth advanced in price from twelpence and fifteenpence a yard to eight and nine shillings a yard.¹ Unfortunately for Ireland, remarks Southwell, the majority of the workmen in the northern province are Scots and they "will engross that manufacture to themselves." The Secretary of State therefore proposed his great plan, one that might have done much towards the settlement of Ireland. He contemplated removing Crommelin from the north and placing him at a suitable town either in the middle or in the south of the country. Southwell placed his plans before Crommelin and gained his assent to the change. Both agreed that Kilkenny ought to prove a suitable centre because of the goodness of the air, water, and soil. The State possessed no ready money and £2500 was required to make the change. The patent had still six years to run, and Crommelin asked for an extension for four years longer if he received this sum; but if not he wanted a patent for twelve years.² Southwell wrote home an enthusiastic despatch in favour of the proposal, pointing out that the new prosperity to be anticipated must make the people content. Besides, it must gratify the English commercial community, for it means that farms upon which sheep graze will be transformed into fields growing flax. There will be no competition with the wool trade, and England has no linen manufacture of importance. The reasons were cogent enough from the point of view of current economic theory. Unfortunately the war of the Spanish succession was proving too costly for the State to embark upon a far-

¹ *Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, xcvi. 57, 411. Cf. *ibid.* 1702-7, vol. ci. 18, 485, June 15, 1706.

² *Ibid.* xcvi. 101, 443, June 17, 1706. The Commissioners of Trade advise the granting of the patent for 12 years: minuted June 18, 1706. Southwell to be informed. Cf. *ibid.* xcix. 85, 460-1, Sept. 4, 1706; xcvi. 51. *Ibid.* cii. No. 83; Letter of the Lord-Lieutenant to the Lord High Treasurer, Aug. 6, 1707, Kilkenny was "the most convenient and central place to diffuse the same (*i.e.* manufactures) to the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught." *Ibid.* ci. 72, 495-6, Ormonde to the Lord High Treasurer, Mar. 25, 1707. *Ibid.* cii. 18, 507, J. Dawson to Southwell, May 13, 1707. *Ibid.* cii. 55, 517, E. Southwell to Loundes.

reaching plan like this.¹ The schemes of Louis in Europe destroyed the plans which in an indirect manner he had brought into being in Ireland.

The second device was also suggested by the action of the French Monarch. If the kingdom of Ireland could not become, even upon a small scale, a manufacturing province, the dangers of a French invasion might be met in another fashion. French soldiers did not, at least after 1691, land in the north, and French cruisers seldom sailed round the coasts of Ulster. The reason was self-evident. In the north there existed a flourishing plantation which had transformed the face of the country. A similar plantation in Munster might effect a similar transformation in the south of Ireland.² The people to carry it out were obviously the palatines, the Protestant refugees from Germany, who were necessarily devoted to the interests of England. Some five hundred families landed in Dublin in 1709 at the request of the Privy Council, which guaranteed for the next three years a contribution of £5000 a year towards their subsistence.³ Three hundred additional families came, and a further grant was made. In three years they received £15,900. From the 4th of September to the 24th of January 1709-10 821 families, or 3073 persons, landed in Ireland. So eager was the Privy Council to receive them that they changed their plans as to the period during which the money was to be allocated to them, and, in consequence, from the 4th of September to the 7th of February 1709-10, they paid out £14,090. Eighteenpence a week was allowed to each person; each family was to receive £10 a year for twenty-one years. The efforts of the Government were seconded by the charitable donations of the inhabitants; in a few weeks £409 was subscribed by them. Prominent among the supporters of this southern settlement was Archbishop King, who fully perceived the benefits of this

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), E. Southwell to Dawson, Aug. 3, 1704; Sept. 30, 1704.

² Add. 35,933 (Brit. Mus.).

³ *Irish Commons Journals*, iii. 857-861. Cf. *Treasury Papers*, 1557-1696, vol. i. xlii., vol. xxxv. 468, Nov. 8, 1695. £1500 was then raised for the Huguenots in order to encourage them to settle in Ireland.

plan. His letters, especially those of 1710, dwell much upon its feasibility, though he fears that the cares of the Government and the lack of sufficient pecuniary support may prove obstacles to its permanent success.¹ His paper of the 16th of January 1711 lays down many precautions for the care of the poor palatines.² Care had been taken to lodge the poor distressed Protestants conveniently; a daily subsistence had been allowed them; the families had been accurately distributed into the several lots the charitable gentlemen drew, and they had provided houses for those assigned to them. The lands given to them were assigned at easy rates—often at a third less rents than similar farms set to other tenants. They were furnished with some capital for the necessities of life, and useful machinery was procured for them, “being likewise treated with humanity by their entertainers, at great expense to many of them.”

In spite of this hospitality some left Limerick and returned to Dublin, “we know not on what motives.”³ A letter written on the 10th of May 1710, from the commissioners of the poor palatines in England, speaks of the “proneness of these people to leave their good settlements and return into England.”⁴ Some of them threatened to throw Mr. Crockett into the sea when he went on board to persuade them not to proceed on their voyage to England. Two hundred and thirty-two families had left already; in the month of November alone 188 families sailed. Out of 532 families drawn and provided for 232 deserted. The reasons seem to us sufficiently obvious. Many of the new-comers were artisans. They were now expected to become farmers, and to this change of occupation they naturally offered strenuous objections. Besides, the grants were insufficient; a large part of the money was expended, not in supplying them with necessary capital, but on weekly subsistence allowances. The plan of

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin). E. Southwell to J. Dawson, Feb. 10, 1710, on the decay of the palatines; the Archbishop's account thereof is “admirably well writt.” Add. 21,132, f. 39.

² Mar. 26, 1712, to Sir T. Southwell (King MSS., T.C.D.).

³ Add. 35,933 (Brit. Mus.).

⁴ May 10, 1710. Add. 35,933 (Brit. Mus.).

settling a number of palatines in the southern province for the strengthening of the English interest thus proved a failure.

Many artisans remained in Ireland, some 258 families returning to Dublin, others going to Lisburn. Perhaps their expectations had been unduly high; they had hoped to receive grants of land rent free. But turbulent and mutinous men, notably John James Seames, a tailor, informed them that they would fare better in England. Some dreamed of a return to their own land so soon as peace should be declared. Nothing is more pathetic in the correspondence of this period than the letters of the exiles expressing their eager desire to return to their native land. The "Heimgang" feeling persisted among them all. They loved their country, yet because of the doctrine of political uniformity they had been driven from it.

It is difficult to get details of this attempted southern plantation, but an undated memorial of Sir Thomas Southwell gives some welcome information.¹ It was evidently written about the year 1712. One hundred and thirty German Protestant farmers had been allocated to him for his estate in County Limerick. King tells us that on the 26th of March 1712 30 families had arrived, and Sir Thomas had planted them on his estate, and he was waiting for the 100 additional families. He set his lands at half their worth, gave them timber to build houses, and lent them £557. He wisely selected men who knew something of farming; they raised flax, hemp, and kept a good stock. Nevertheless they became involved in pecuniary difficulties, and Sir Thomas petitioned the Privy Council that he might seize their substance for debt. A paper of the 28th of March 1712 gives a clear account of the failure of the settlement. "Partly by their ignorance of the climate and soil," it sets forth, "and other accidents peculiar to the husbandry of this country, and partly by the difficulties and delays that happen in their settlement, they have been hindered from making the best advantage of their sub-

¹ Add. 35,933 (Brit. Mus.).

sistence and improving their farms. They are not perfect with the language, and not acquainted with English laws and customs. Give them a minister to read the liturgy of the Church to them in their own language, in which it is translated, and to which they readily conform, likewise an agent that understands their language so as not to be abused by the landlords or neighbours.”¹ Though the services of the minister and the agent were granted them, the days of the colony were numbered. The plans of Southwell and of King, wise as they were from their point of view, proved utterly abortive.¹

When the new session of Parliament met in 1707 Pembroke dwelt plainly upon the dangers that threatened Ireland from the designs of France. “I am commanded by Her Majesty,” he plainly tells the members, “to recommend to you unanimity among yourselves, and to inform you that Her Majesty, considering the number of Papists in this realm, would be glad of any expedient for the strengthening the interests of her Protestant subjects in this Kingdom.”² The Commons, with the words of the Viceroy fresh in their ears, harked back to the old plan of a union with England, but Anne merely answered she would try “to make the union of all her subjects as extensive as possible.”³ The supplies were soon forthcoming, but Pembroke made little progress towards the removal of the Sacramental Test. Doddington reported that the Jacobitish tendencies and the High Church views of the bishops stood in the way. If this account be true, it is strange to find how soon Parliament was converted to different views, for in 1709 it waxes most enthusiastic in its defence of the principles of the revolution of 1688. On the 4th of November the Viceroy, Chancellor, and Judges, the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, walked in joyful procession around the statue of William III. in College Green. The memory of the glorious, pious, and

¹ Bonn, ii. 160, “The day for planting by Government was gone.”

² *Irish Commons Journals*, iii. 364. The twenty-eight heads of Pembroke’s instructions are to be found in *S.P., Ireland*, Entry Books (Record Office, London), f. 295, June 5, 1707. For Wharton’s instructions see f. 371.

³ Add. 28,952 (Brit. Mus.), the *Ellis Papers*.

immortal deliverer was loyally drunk. It is therefore somewhat difficult to believe that devotion to Jacobite principles characterised the Parliament of 1707. The Provost and the Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, expelled Edward Forbes, one of their number, because he "had aspersed the memory of King William." The members of Parliament, in order to signify their appreciation of this zeal, petitioned the Queen to grant £5000 to the College for a library, which might bring about "the encouragement of good literature and sound Revolutionary principles." Three students, by way of a practical joke, stole the truncheon from King William's statue, and plastered his face with mud. A tremendous commotion was caused in Dublin by the news of this outrage, and the House of Lords offered £100 reward for the discovery of the offenders, declaring "that the persons concerned in that barbarous act had been guilty of the greatest insolence, baseness, and ingratitude."¹ The House of Commons felt equally indignant. This outburst of feeling, due to an incident of but trivial importance in itself, furnishes additional evidence that Parliament was not at all inclined to Jacobitism.

The private correspondence of Archbishop King, never designed to come to light, also gives a flat contradiction to the view that the members sympathised with the Pretender.² In a letter of the 20th of January 1701 he reckons that the Whigs form "the major party in the house, it's strange if they are not."³ On the 28th of March 1702 he writes to Sir Robert Southwell: "As to the people of Ireland they really loved King William, have great veneration for his memory and can't endure anything that reflects on it, or any that used him ill alive. . . . Their value for William makes them generally take the Whig side and the rather because that party gave them some hopes of revenge on the Parliament that so unmercifully opposed them."⁴

¹ C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Wharton to Sunderland, June 27, 1710.

² Mr. J. A. Froude makes this statement respecting the Jacobitish tendencies of the House, a statement for which there is no evidence. No wonder that a French historian speaks of his "Froudacuity"!

³ King MSS. (T.C.D.).

⁴ *Ibid.*

On the 6th of February 1704 he discourses to the Lord Chancellor on the poor prospects of toleration—"As to the first (*i.e.* toleration) in the present circumstances I can't think Ireland can move any thing more contrary to its interest, for we are generally looked on here as a body of desperate Whigs, and a great part of our ill usage is founded upon that belief, and the movement for a toleration will confirm all here in that belief, nay perhaps will be interpreted a leaning to the Scots (*i.e.* Jacobite) interest; a surmise that will unspeakably prejudice us. And besides it will be hard to frame such a bill, for it must be founded on a repeal of the Penal Laws in matters of religion of which sort I know none we have, except there be a clause for it . . . in the second of Elizabeth. I can't find the Irish Statutes here to consult it, but if there be it is absolutely impracticable to put in execution by reason of the wording of it. But if such a Bill should be pressed, I hope your Lordship will remember with it to repeal the declaration against taking up arms imposed on the clergy by the Act of Uniformity."¹ These letters—and they are certainly typical—do not reveal any leaning either to the Pretender or to the doctrine of his followers.

On the 16th of August 1707, King wrote to Annesley: "The session has been very quiet and managed with great compliance on all sides. There were two things that were like to embroil us which we have got over pretty safely—1st, The Test, and 2nd, the supply of the Government whether it should be for one or two years. As to the first the matter was so contrived that it seems the ministry in England was of opinion that we are wonderfully fond of repealing that clause of the Bill against Popery that obliged all in office to take the Sacrament. And we here were held in hand, that this was the design of the ministry and that we could not oblige Her Majesty by anything more effectual than by complying in it. But upon trial it proved that nothing was more adverse to the universal inclination of the

¹ King MSS. (T.C.D.).

Parliament here. I believe some few might be for it, but it was their interest to make things go smoothly in Parliament. And they found this was the way to obtain it, and therefore, they came in with the rest and have really gained great reputation by being so. You can hardly imagine what a healing matter this has proved and how far it has prevailed to oblige those that were in great animosity against one another to comply in all reasonable proposals. Whereas if the repeal of the Test had been insisted on it would have broken all in [pieces] and made form parties on principles which before were found [founded] only on personal quarrels, and in truth the parties found they were not all of one mind in this affair, that it would have divided them among themselves, the agreement therefore in this brought along with it a tone likewise in the second. Those that had voted before for one year's supply only could not in honour come into two years and therefore those concerned which have obtained two years if they would have struggled for it, they rather chose to accept of one year."¹ The larger portion of this exceedingly important letter has been quoted in order to show the reasons that actuated the Archbishop in voting against the repeal of the Test clause. It is at once perfectly obvious that these are not founded upon Jacobite principles. As he was the strongest man on the Episcopal bench of Ireland, it is particularly important to note the workings of his mind. He has been accused of being a Jacobite at heart, and of leading the Episcopal party into Jacobite ways, but of this charge his public acts and his private correspondence clear him in the most absolute fashion.

Of course it is highly regrettable that so enlightened a prelate offered sturdy opposition to the removal of the Sacramental Test. But it must be borne in mind, in those times a Dissenter was regarded as being as disloyal as a Romanist. All contemporary evidence, notably that found in tracts and pamphlets, points in this direction. Only members of the Established Church were fitted to become officials of the State, therefore it must be definitely

¹ King MSS. (T.C.D.).

ascertained that all officers were members of the Church, and the evidence could best be furnished, it was conceived, by seeing that they shared in its rites. This was the plain policy pursued in England, and King naturally maintained the same policy in Ireland. In the matter of the Test he acted as a Churchman first, and as a statesman afterwards. In Scotland, the land of his fathers, he was well aware of the violence with which his brother clergy had been treated. He remembered that the Presbyterians pronounced the Toleration Act of Anne to be a grievous sin, and he was not unwilling to mete to the Presbyterians the treatment they had meted to his own Church. In the north of Ireland he had encountered bitter opposition from the Puritans, and their sweeping denunciations of prelacy had not been forgotten. There were, moreover, more practical methods in which Dissenters had extended their influence. On the 28th of March King points out : "The arts by which they keep up their party are to take no apprentices that will not engage to go to the meetings with them, to employ none nor trade with any that are not of their own sort, if they can help it, to plant their law with such and on all juries and other occasions to favour such more than justice, in all those they have been supported and countenanced, and he was looked on as dissatisfied to the Government that so much as complained of them."

Doddington perceived that relief of the Dissenters was hopeless, and he turned his attention to oppression of the Roman Catholics. The solicitors who belonged to that communion had been forbidden in 1698 to continue the practice of their profession, "whereas since the making the said act several known Papists of this kingdom have frequently and openly practised as solicitors and agents in several suits and causes in law and equity." The statute passed in William's reign was after consideration amended and considerably strengthened, and attempts were made to enforce it more vigorously than before.¹

¹ 6 Anne c. 6. Cf. 10 William III. 13 ; 1 George II. 20 ; 7 George II. 5. *S.P., Ireland, Anne* (Record Office, London), vol. 366.

The difficulties attending prosecution were manifold, and the penalty of £100 for each offence was deemed too small. Now the penalty was doubled for all Papist solicitors, save those comprehended in the articles of Limerick, who had taken the oath of abjuration before the 1st of July 1707.¹ No Roman Catholic could act as a juror unless Protestants were not available.² Other Acts placed upon the statute book were for the public registration of all deeds, conveyances, and wills;³ the easy partitioning of lands in coparcenary, joint-tenancy and tenancy in common;⁴ the recovery of final debts in a summary way before the judges of the assize;⁵ giving jurisdiction to Justices of the Peace to determine disputes about servants' wages;⁶ the lessening of sheriffs' fees on execution;⁷ the explaining and limiting of the privileges of Parliament;⁸ the further encouragement and improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufacture;⁹ the amendment of the law in relation to butter-casks;¹⁰ the encouragement of the exportation of corn;¹¹ remedying the disorders attending the marching of soldiers;¹² and an Act for settling and preserving a public library for ever.¹³ That hardy annual, the Act against tories, rapparees, and robbers, also appears.¹⁴

In 1709 Pembroke retired and he was replaced by Thomas, Earl of Wharton, who was a more determined Whig than his predecessor. In his address to Parliament, the new Viceroy dwelt upon two objects he desired to bring before it; one was the inequality in numbers between

¹ On the professions forbidden to Huguenots, cf. Déclaration du Roy, du premier février 1669, xxix.: "Que les Charges de Grieffiens des Maisons Consulaires ou Secrétaires des Communautés ne pourront être tenuës que par des Catholiques"; Déclaration du Roy, du 20 février 1680, portant défenses à ceux de la R.P.R. de faire les fonctions de Sages-Femmes; Arrest du Conseil, du 22 janvier 1685, qui fait défenses de recevoir aucuns Maîtres Apoticaire Epiciers de la R.P.R.; Arrest du Conseil, du 9 juillet 1685, qui fait défenses à tous Libraires et Imprimeurs faisant profession de la R.P.R. de faire à l'avenir aucunes fonctions de Libraires et Imprimeurs; Déclaration du Roy, du 10 juillet 1685, portant défenses aux Juges, Avocats et autres, d'avoir des Clercs de la R.P.R.; Arrest du Conseil, du 15 septembre 1685, portant défense à tous Chirurgiens et Apoticaire faisant profession de la R.P.R. de faire aucun exercice de leur Art.

² Cf. 8 Anne 3.

³ 6 Anne 5.

⁴ 6 Anne 8.

⁵ 6 Anne 18.

⁶ 6 Anne 11.

⁷ 6 Anne 2.

⁸ 6 Anne 13.

⁹ 6 Anne 9.

¹⁰ 6 Anne 14.

¹¹ 6 Anne 3.

¹² 6 Anne 7.

¹³ 6 Anne 12.

¹⁴ 6 Anne 19.

the Papists and the Protestants, and the other was the necessity of cultivating a better understanding among all the latter. The Commons in their reply cordially agreed with the intentions of Wharton. The last paragraph of their reply informs him : " That it shall be our chiefest care inviolably to preserve, support and maintain the Church as by law established ; so we cannot be either so negligent of our common safety, or unmindful of the hearty affection and courage, which the dissenting Protestants used in conjunction with their brethren of the established Church against Irish and French Papists, and the happy consequences of their joint gallant behaviour to the welfare and liberties of all Europe, as to think it reasonable that those, who have hitherto given and shall continue to give all testimonies and assurances of being faithful to the Government, and abjure the Pretender should be laid under any uneasiness in the exercise of their religious worship ; a liberty enjoyed by our most dangerous enemies." ¹ This part of the address sounded well, but nothing came of it. In the meantime the bishops had secured the support of the vicar of Laracor. Jonathan Swift now employed his powerful pen against the Dissenters. Much as he disliked the Roman Catholics, he disliked the Presbyterians a great deal more. The latter, indeed, to his mind, form the only serious political danger to which Ireland was exposed. He compared the Roman Catholics to a chained lion bound fast, with teeth drawn, and claws pared to the quick ; the Presbyterians to an angry cat free to fly at the throat of any innocent passer-by. Swift's reasoning proved too much for Wharton, and no relief was conceded to the Dissenter. The House of Lords complained to the Queen that the Presbyterians fomented all the disorders in Ireland, and that her Viceroy gave them hearty support. The complaint coincided with the English ministerial crisis in which the Tories triumphed. The Whig Viceroy was recalled, and Ormonde once more assumed the reins of power.

Before Wharton's recall the Irish Parliament added to

the already lengthy Penal Code. This addition consisted of an Act to explain and amend the Act for the prevention of the further growth of Popery.¹ The former measure "has been eluded by making of settlements on Papists, by granting annuities for lives, in tail, and fee simple, and by perfecting collateral securities, as judgments, recognizances, and statutes defeazanced for performing the covenants in such deeds of annuity, and for answering private trusts for the benefits of such Papists, under color and pretence that annuities, being only personal and not real inheritances, are not comprehended within that clause, whereby Papists are disabled from purchasing lands and tenements."² All such annuities were declared void, and in order to detect all illegal trusts, fraudulent leases, mortgages, or conveyances, a clause provided that any Protestant who discovered them should receive the property they concerned. The process of gavelling was once more insisted upon in order to check the growth of Popery. No convert was deemed a Protestant, even if he held the Episcopal certificate of conversion, unless he received the Sacrament, subscribed the declaration, and took the oath of abjuration. The father of a convert was at once bound to discover on oath the proper value of his estate, and the Lord Chancellor gave an order for the maintenance of the son out of it; the order, however, was not to exceed one-third of the estate during the parent's life. A similar provision was made for the wife who abjured her husband's faith.³ Roman Catholics were forbidden to teach school either as principal or assistant. In order to ensure the banishment of bishops and priests, the informer was given £50 for the discovery of each bishop or other person exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £20 for each regular and secular priest un-

¹ 8 Anne, c. 3. Cf. 2 Anne 6; George III. 12; 1 George II. 20. Klopp, xiii. 263, contains Bonaventura de Burgo's appeal to Clement XI., on behalf of the Irish Roman Catholics. Count Gallas in London pleaded with Godolphin, Sunderland, and Boyle. The Emperor points out his toleration of the Protestants in Silesia. Lamberty, v. 70, 396; *Clementis XI. epistolae* i. 587, 599.; Klopp, xiii. 269-273, gives the Irish appeal. *Nairne Papers*, D.N., vol. ii. No. 32. S.P., *Ireland*, Anne, Entry Books (Record Office, London), vol. 3, f. 400, 412, 395. S.P., *Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 366. Addison's letters of June 20 and 28, 1709.

² Sect. 1.

³ Cf. 7 Will. III. 6; 6 Anne 16.

registered, and £10 for a schoolmaster, usher, or tutor.¹ The rewards were levied on the Popish inhabitants of the country according to the procedure in cases of robbery.² No priest could officiate anywhere except in the parish church for which he was registered, and he was compelled to take the abjuration oath on his registration.³ Any two Justices of the Peace could summon any one over the age of sixteen, administer this oath, and commit him to prison if he refused to take it. He might also be asked where and when he last heard Mass, and who was the celebrant. This last statute embraced no fewer than thirty-nine clauses, which were meant to close any loopholes by which preceding Acts might be evaded. The bribe held out to the informer was potent enough to secure some measure of compliance with the statute.

It is a relief to turn from this statute to those passed for the enabling of posthumous children to take estates as if born in their father's lifetime,⁴ the prevention of delays at assizes and sessions,⁵ the prevention of counterfeit coin,⁶ the discovery and apprehension of housebreakers,⁷ and the better payment of inland bills of exchange and promissory notes.⁸

When Ormonde met Parliament he informed the Commons that the Queen had been pleased to grant the £5000 to Trinity College, Dublin, in order to mark her approval of their sound political doctrine.⁹ The bishops too were highly pleased, for Swift had at last succeeded in gaining the remission of first-fruits to the clergy of the Church of Ireland. The House of Lords in their address in 1711 informs the Queen that "you have by an unparallel'd bounty augmented the Revenues of the Church by lessening your Majesty's own"; and "also extended your royal favor to the College of Dublin, and at such a

¹ Cf. 7 Will. III. 4, sect. 9; 9 Will. III. 1; 2 Anne 3; 4 Anne 2; 31 George II. 9.

² 9 Will. III. 9; 6 Anne 6.

³ 1 Anne 22, stat. 1 (Eng.); 16 Richard II.; 13 George II. 6; 2 Anne 7.

⁴ 8 Anne 4.

⁵ 8 Anne 5.

⁶ 8 Anne 6.

⁷ 8 Anne 8.

⁸ 8 Anne 11. On the results of this session, cf. *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 367, Nov. 26, 1711.

⁹ C.S.P., MSS. (Dublin), R. Powys to J. Dawson, Aug. 5, 1710. Add. 34,777 (Brit. Mus.).

juncture, as must testify to the world, that what your Majesty bestowed was not given to promote those principles upon which it was first applied for, but to encourage university education ; the neglect and disuse of which we firmly believe hath of late been a great means and occasion of the growth of ignorance and profaneness, infidelity, and all those loose and wild notions and tenets which have industriously been spread amongst us, to the endangerment of the state, and the undermining the foundation of all religion.”¹ The House of Commons resented these insinuations, for they considered that when the College expelled Forbes and declared its adhesion to revolutionary principles and to the succession in the Protestant line it had vindicated its freedom from a Jacobite taint. Accordingly the members voted that the address of the House of Lords was an infringement of their rights, privileges, and liberties. The Peers retorted that they had not meant the revolution of 1688, but under cover of it they pretended—most unfairly—that the authorities were justifying rebellion and anarchy. When this charge failed the Peers attacked the Dissenters, and secured the withdrawal of the *regium donum*, the £1200 that William had annually allowed the Presbyterians.

The statutes passed by Parliament were of a more sensible order than this furious discussion would suggest. Acts were passed for the more effectual prevention of frauds committed by the tenants,² the enabling of guardians and others to renew leases for lives,³ the prohibition of the ingrossing, forestalling and regrating of coals,⁴ the prevention of excessive and deceitful gambling,⁵ the suppression of lotteries,⁶ and the preservation of game.⁷ During this session, the last in which any legislation was effected by this Parliament, no addition to the Penal Code stained the statute book.

Convocation naturally spoke in more acrid terms than Parliament of the Dissenters. They, of course, attributed the infidelity and profanity of the time “to the sectaries

¹ *Irish Commons Journals*, Aug. 4, 1711.

² 9 Anne 8.

³ 11 Anne 3.

⁴ 11 Anne 4.

⁵ 11 Anne 5.

⁶ 11 Anne 6.

⁷ 11 Anne 7.

who came over in the time of the wicked and detestable usurper, Oliver Cromwell, and had spread the enthusiasm which, under a spacious pretence of sanctity, was ever accompanied with sedition." They were more accurate in their diagnosis when they stated that the Roman Catholics "lived continually in hope of aid from the Catholic powers to root out the Protestants, and shake off the yoke of Britain." They perceived the Roman Catholics to be "visibly exalted with any ill success to her Majesty's arms, and dejected with accounts of victory, their dependence being on France, for being restored to their estates." Convocation further remarked upon "the unsteadiness of the measures which had been used towards those of that persuasion; sometimes measures of great severity, and then again, indulgence and toleration, the laws made against them being rarely executed, and they in consequence, when in greatest difficulties hoping for a return of connivance."¹

In the meantime troubles occurred between the Government and the Corporation of Dublin.² With a view to securing a Tory House of Commons Ormonde endeavoured to appoint Tory sheriffs in the counties and Tory mayors in the towns. The aldermen of the city of Dublin offered a stout resistance, showing that they at least did not favour Jacobite principles. The Government endeavoured to make the Corporation choose the in-coming mayor from a list of names they placed before it. Persisting in their opposition, the aldermen elected a Whig mayor, to the intense annoyance of the Government. For two years the strife raged, and during that time Dublin was destitute of local government.

Matters were becoming so critical in England, and Ormonde's services were so much in demand, that the Duke of Shrewsbury was appointed Viceroy. It was

¹ Address of Convocation to the Crown, 1712 (Record Office, Dublin).

² C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), E. Southwell to J. Dawson, May 24, 1711; Oct. 17, 1713; Nov. 22, 1713; Feb. 27, 171³/₄; May 16, May 19, May 28, 1713; Apr. 27, 1714; May 25, 1714; June 24, 1714; Aug. 5, 1714. See 50,107, 5A (Record Office, Dublin).

supposed that he had come over in order to bind Ireland to the support of the Pretender's claims, yet upon his arrival he celebrated the birthday of King William. The revenue was running low, and a Parliament was required to raise it. The Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, imagined that the Tories would easily win at the elections; he informed Dean Swift that, "by the nicest calculations, the Castle would have a majority of three to two."¹ In Dublin, despite the quarrel with the Corporation, the Government candidates were elected. The temper of the new Parliament was shown in the choice of the Speaker, Alan Brodrick, defeating the official candidate, Sir Richard Levinge. The Commons then discussed the impeachment of Sir Constantine Phipps for his interference in the election to the mayoralty of Dublin. The attitude of the members to the Hanoverian succession was speedily made evident, for they offered a reward for the capture of the Pretender, alive or dead. To their grant of supplies they tacked on a clause insisting on the dismissal of the Chancellor. Shrewsbury refused to accept the money bill with this condition, and when the Opposition persisted in their charges against Phipps he prorogued Parliament.

Critical as events were in Dublin, they were indeed of small importance compared with the rival intrigues in England for the success of the Pretender and the Elector of Hanover respectively. It was just at this time that the English Parliament was passing the Schism Act which was to terminate the practical toleration of Dissenters.² Bolingbroke, desiring to extend its provisions to Ireland, moved a resolution to this effect in the House of Lords, and, despite the opposition of four of the bishops, it was carried. On the day that the Act came into operation Anne passed away, thus leaving as her last legacy to Ireland one more of those oppressive laws which have stained the pages of her statute book. The historian,

¹ Sir Constantine Phipps to Dean Swift, Nov. 9, 1713 (Record Office, Dublin). C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Ormonde to the Lords Justices, June 27, 1711. 50,107, 7E (Record Office, Dublin); 153 (Dublin). Add. 21,138 (Brit. Mus.).

² 12 Anne 7 (Eng.).

striving to read the motives behind the deed, will hardly be able to set them forth more accurately than in words penned by Lucretius over 2000 years ago: "Avarice again and blind lust of honors which constrain unhappy men to overstep the bounds of right, and sometimes as partners and agents of crimes to strive night and day with surpassing effort to struggle up to the summit of power."¹ The twin threads of misrule and mistrust have been woven very deeply into the fabric of Ireland's history. Remembering this, and remembering too with what patient toil they who love Ireland, nerved by the hope that the failure of to-day may be the raw material of to-morrow's success, have through dark days set unwearied hands to the unravelling of these sinister threads, we may close the story of the Penal Laws with still another sentence from the old but strangely modern poet,—“What groanings did they beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for our children's children,”²—and with a tribute to the staunchness of those whose devotion to the faith they held dear was but thrown into relief by the shadows of persecution.

The Irish are often accused of being a lawless race, yet those who prefer this charge forget that from 1691 to 1829 the laws were such that the vast majority of the people were unable to obey them. Generation after generation of Roman Catholics were taught, both privately and publicly, that law and injustice were synonymous terms, and under these circumstances hostility to the statutes of Parliament, whether Irish or English, was inevitable. The Sovereign, taught Hobbes of old, may commit iniquity but not injustice, and, legally speaking, the dictum is correct; yet many Irishmen believed that the laws of their Sovereign were both iniquitous and unjust. This feeling is passing away; still the teachings of Charles Darwin forbid us to hope that its disappearance will take place in a moment. The rapparee and the Tory taught the people that where protection was not afforded them their pike and skene would be wielded on their behalf.

¹ Lucretius, iii. 59-63.

² *Ibid.*, v, 1196-1197.

The Irish were not slow to learn the lesson, and the secret combinations of the eighteenth century formed the precedents for those of the nineteenth and twentieth. *Qui scit dissimulare, scit regnare*, taught Louis XI., yet he knows not how to govern whose policy teaches the people that the only hope of salvation lies in dissimulation. The Irish learnt this fatal lesson, for their opportunities were numberless. In every duty of life they met the Penal Laws, and in every way they tried to evade them. They combined incessantly against them and set them at naught. Law went one way while public opinion proceeded another way. The inevitable outbreak of conspiracy has among Irishmen been unfavourable to the formation of that habit of gradually amending the law which has become natural to Englishmen. In Ireland the sentiments which during the eighteenth century governed the evolution of law were opposed to the wishes and ideas held by the majority of the people of the country. Political power, as in mediæval times, went with the ownership of land, and therefore the statesman felt that the Roman Catholic must be divorced from land. He was divorced from land, yet—and here we still feel the effects of the settlement arrived at in the days of William and Anne—at the same time he was divorced from law.

It is extremely difficult to say to what degree the Penal Laws were enforced. The manuscript evidence, especially that obtained from the King and the Southwell correspondence, suggests that when the danger of a French descent loomed large on the political horizon the officials repressed the Roman Catholics, and that when this danger disappeared the laws became, like so many later Irish laws, mere words on the statute book with no relation to actual life. The system of persecution then was remarkably irregular. In times of State persecution many a tenant sought and found the protection of the squire and the rector of the parish, for he transferred his estates to these friends, who acted privately as his trustee. At such seasons, however, the priest walked at night and vanished in the early dawn. When the ardent Protestant neighbours came in search of

arms they found the pistol and corselet had been secreted with the pyx and chasuble. Of the English Roman Catholic the Jesuits themselves reported that he is "either by his own position or by the good esteem of his neighbours superior to the action of the laws," and the report remains true of the Irish Roman Catholic. One test of its truth is evident in the fact that the proportion of the Irish planters to the Roman Catholics had not altered much since the days of Oliver Cromwell. From the register of the hearth-taxes for 1732-33 the following figures are obtained :—

The provinces contain

	Planters.	Roman Catholics.	Proportion of
Ulster	62,624	38,459	3 to 2
Leinster	25,241	92,434	1 „ $3\frac{3}{5}$
Munster	13,337	106,407	1 „ 8
Connaught . . .	4,299	44,101	1 „ 10
All Ireland . .	105,501	281,401	3 to 8

Out of the thirty-two counties the planters had only a majority of six. Of course, as the Roman Catholics formed the bulk of the lower classes, they could readily escape the hearth-tax, and this consideration without doubt affects the accuracy of the returns. Still, it is quite clear that, outside the northern provinces, in no county had the planters a majority, and inside it they had a real majority, only in Antrim, Down, Derry, and Armagh. On the other hand, in most towns of the south and west the Roman Catholics were superior in numbers. Thus in Cork there were 2569 planter and 5398 Roman Catholic families. In the metropolis there were, however, 8823 planter and 4119 Roman Catholic families. Nothing, indeed, testifies more emphatically to the loose administration of the Penal Code than the fact that the proportion of planter to Roman Catholic had not increased since the time of the Commonwealth. This Code was never completely enforced, but at the same time it was never in

complete abeyance. Indeed, the reasons Sir John Davies gave for the failure of the English to conquer Ireland are, with a slight change, the reasons accounting for the failure of the Penal Laws. "On the whole," concludes Dr. Bonn, "the persecutions were not carried out with as great severity as they had been planned, although they were made from time to time more rigorous. It is doubtful if that were an advantage for either party. The hatred against the stern enactments was not lessened by their inefficient application ; with it was coupled contempt for the weakness of the executive body and the connivance of its members. Brutal regulations stood much longer on the statute book than would have been the case if they had been strictly carried out. They offered a good handle for *agents provocateurs* and prosecutors, while they always necessitated subterfuge. The Irish Penal Laws must in reality be condemned as political legislation aimed at the accumulation of power in the hands of the enemies of the Government."¹

The Code rendered the line wide and impassable between the loyal inhabitant of the north and the disloyal one of the south. It is usual to remark that the men of Ulster and Munster are fundamentally different. North of the Boyne we seem to find one type of people, while south of it we encounter another. The orthodox explanation of this difference is that the plantation of Ulster in the reign of James I. and the Williamite plantation make intelligible the divergence between north and south. And yet we wonder is this the true explanation? We freely admit that the Scots and English flocked to colonise Ulster in 1608, and the palatines and Huguenots to colonise Munster a hundred years later, and we grant that the infiltration is felt to this day. For example, there are districts in Ulster where a knowledge of the language of Robert Burns is distinctly desirable. There

¹ On the working of the Penal Laws Voltaire in his remarkable *Essai sur les mœurs*, writes : "Ce pays est toujours resté sous la domination de l'Angleterre, mais inculte, pauvre et inutile jusqu'à ce qu'enfin dans le dix-huitième siècle l'agriculture, les manufactures, les arts, les sciences, tout s'y est perfectionné, et l'Irlande, quoique subjuguée, est devenue une des plus florissantes provinces de l'Europe."

can be little doubt that the Ulster and Williamite plantations are causes of the aloofness of north from south, but do they form the complete reason? It is well known that many Flemings and Huguenots settled in the eastern counties of England, yet no one maintains that there is any spirit of opposition between Norfolk and Gloucester. We have gone over the lists of these immigrants with some care, and we are convinced that the total number exceeded the number of those who went to Ulster in the seventeenth and to Munster in the eighteenth centuries. In England the immigrants made little difference in the national type, and we are inclined to question if they made so great difference in Ireland as is popularly supposed. Moreover, the visitors to England ought to have changed the type more, for the English do not possess the Irish gift of absorbing other races.

The results of recent general elections demonstrate once more the action of a singular law, if law it be. For if we draw an imaginary line from Liverpool to Hull, the people north of this line usually vote for one party and south of it for another. Doubtless there are exceptions to this statement, but of its broad truth there can be little doubt. This cleavage too between north and south is no new thing in England. During the great Civil War of the seventeenth century we discern the same opposition of north to south. The operation of this law in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries respectively is all the more remarkable, for the whole character of England has changed in the intervening years. There is more change in this country in the last hundred and fifty years than in the preceding seven hundred. In themselves north and south have fundamentally altered, yet the principle remains the same. In 1640 England was, like all other countries, largely agricultural. Between landlord and tenant in Dorset and landlord and tenant in Durham there was therefore no very great difference. Yet we plainly see that the Civil War was, on the whole, a war of north against south. A swift glance at the map of England in 1640 proves the truth of this generalization. In 1760

England began a process of complete change, for from that year to 1785 occurred a series of inventions which in their ultimate effects transformed the face of the country. The industrial revolution broke out, with the result that the opposition between north and south reappeared in another form. In the north we see the artisan and the unskilled workman, while in the south we meet with the farmer and the agricultural labourer. The classes of men are absolutely different, still the general election returns warrant us in maintaining that the dissimilarity between Dorset and Durham remains to this day. In fact, to this law we feel tempted to add a corollary. Between north and south there always seems to be opposition, and our corollary is that the former gains at the expense of the latter. In 1640 the south of England was of more moment than the north, while in 1910 the situation is reversed. If we draw two circles, each with a radius of thirty miles, and make the centre of one London and that of the other Manchester, we soon perceive that there are now more people within the northern circle than within the southern. The reverse was the case in 1640. The north, then—in England and Ireland, at least—differs from the south, and increases in importance, while the latter tends to diminish in importance. The highlands and lowlands of Scotland testify to the existence of the same spirit of opposition. In the American Civil War of the nineteenth century, as in the Jacobite strife in Ireland in the seventeenth, the fight was waged between north and south. In France we can discern a similar tendency, and in Portugal we witness the same phenomenon. Had Thomas Henry Buckle had his attention drawn to this widespread aloofness of north and south, we should, without doubt, have been furnished with an elaborate physical explanation. It might have been sound, but it might, like some of his ideas, have been merely sound. We frankly confess that we can devise no explanation to cover completely the facts we cite. It is obvious, however, that this law will have an intimate bearing on the future of the world. In the nine-

teenth century two nations changed the map of Europe, for Italy and Germany became unified. Has the former welded north and south more truly into one than the latter? Even a casual observer touring in the southern states of the German Empire cannot help noticing the change in tone when conversation drifts from a man of Baden to one of Berlin. The south feels the pressure of taxation, and notes that northern Prussia is so important that the southern races cannot make their voice felt. Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony bear their share in taxation, but they are not—nay, they cannot be—so influential at the council board as Prussia. Will the south of the German Empire remain permanently united to the north. Time alone can give an answer to this gravely important question. We may note that the existence of sovereigns in the southern states complicates the problem immensely. Thus there is no Emperor of Germany, though there is a German Emperor. He who grasps the difference between these two titles has grasped the underlying difference between north and south.

The opposition in Ireland between the men of Derry and those of Limerick was intensified by the Penal Laws. The land hunger of the north was gratified at the expense of the south. For this reason no movement could unite the whole of Ireland. The colonists had gained property at the expense of the bulk of the people, and class interest prevented any care for the common weal. "The titles of more than half the estates," the House of Commons declared in 1709, "now belonging to the Protestants depend on the forfeitures in the two last rebellions, wherein the generality of the Irish were engaged." The interests of landlord and tenant were antagonistic, and this antagonism has come down to the present day. In England the easy transition from one class to another served to minimise the distinctions of birth. Macaulay points out the results of this wise policy. "It (*i.e.* the nobility) had none of the invidious character of a caste," we read. "It was constantly receiving members from the people and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people."

. . . The yeoman was not inclined to murmur at dignities to which his own children might rise. The grandee was not inclined to insult a class into which his own children must descend." In Ireland, on the other hand, the nobility formed a caste regardless of any interest in or concern for the rest of the nation. Tocqueville gives an unforgettable account of how the continuance of the economical privileges of the French nobility stirred up the national hatred for them, and the parallel with Ireland is obvious. In both countries the tenants were oppressed by the landlords, and in both countries the tenants at last rose in rebellion.

CHAPTER X

THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM IN IRELAND

AT the close of the sixteenth century the effective power of the Holy Roman Empire is plainly declining. Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand the Catholic, the *tres magi* of Bacon, are seen to be the rulers of embryo nations. The Renaissance and the Reformation developed the growing national feeling. When the separate members of the ancient empire became more conscious of their own national life than of the ties that bound them to their neighbours they were easily led to confound commercial independence with political. It was not then difficult for jealousy and suspicion to convince the members of the rising nationalities that their neighbours' gain must mean their loss. That both could gain by the same transaction was a notion frankly incredible to them, for of the law of comparative advantage they had no more than the faintest glimmering. If, therefore, men traded with foreigners, it was the duty of the State to regulate transactions, for otherwise national interests must inevitably suffer. When the State undertook this duty it seemed evident that the precious metals were the most valuable articles that commerce could import.

It was obvious that if a country carried on a large export trade and a small import one, money was owing to it. This was considered a favourable balance of trade, for gold and silver came in while merely commodities went out. An exception to the rule was allowed in the case of raw material, for though money was paid for its import still more could be made by its export when

manufactured. At all costs, the export of bullion must cease, for if it went on the country became to that extent impoverished. No doubt the trader or the corporation often suffered grievously from the restrictions laid down by this Mercantile system, but private loss was but a small matter compared with public gain. Political power was the paramount object of all industrial policy in the seventeenth century: mercantile gain or loss was only to be considered in so far as it bore directly upon the welfare of the state. The Mercantile theory in its essence was political. Most writers on political economy after the time of Bodin make the aggrandisement of a particular state under the rule of an absolute monarch the aim of their teaching. The Mercantile system of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is much more political than economic: it assumed that commercial independence was as desirable as political and could be as readily secured. The theory began with the Renaissance and ended with the French Revolution. This is another way of stating that it began when foreign commerce was becoming a powerful factor in European policy, and it passed away when governments were beginning to be democratic. Mercantilism reached its fullest development in Europe in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

National power seemed to the statesmen of those days to depend in the last resort on three things: these were the accumulation of treasure—the primary aim of the Stuart dynasty—as a reserve to be drawn upon in time of need, the development of shipping as a school for sailors, and the increase of the population for trade and war. Of course the interests of the sovereign nation were paramount; any colonies belonging to it must submit to all regulations the mother country chose fit to impose. The sole purpose of the existence of a colony was to provide for the needs of the home-land. Louis and William differed in many points of international policy, but in this matter they were thoroughly at one. England, equally with France and Spain, was resolved to secure the monopoly of all trade with her own colonies. The Navigation Acts of 1651

and 1660 are unmistakably inspired by this motive. Statesmen conceived that as the mother-country had brought the colonies into existence she was entitled to treat them after the manner of the proverbial stepmother. Settlers might raise raw material for the home-land, but they must not presume to manufacture it. The American woollen industry and iron manufactures were suppressed in the interests of England. According to Lord Chatham "the British Colonists of North America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe." The statement sounds extreme, but it is amply warranted by the facts of the case. The trade of a colony was encouraged provided it did not compete with the home-land: the moment this happened, the export, no matter how profitable it might be, must immediately cease. Hence the export of Irish unwrought iron was received with favour and that of wool with hostility. The national outlook of the statesman was supported in this instance by the private outlook of the merchant. Naturally the English merchant rejoiced when he saw that he was able to keep the profitable colonial trade in his own hands. The Irish glass trade was destroyed in order that English glass might be used. Competition with Ireland was cut off, and as competition with foreign powers was unheard of in those days his own prosperity was consequently assured. There was then no belief in Bastiat's harmonies, for the State held that private interests might injuriously affect national welfare. The individual as such is quite a modern discovery. The individual trader as such is almost unheard of in the seventeenth century. The State was not troubled by many doubts of its omniscience when it undertook to find the true path to progress through the maze of corporate interests. That man's selfishness might be the State's providence was a proposition outside the grasp of most economists of this age. The Greek conception of the relation of the citizen to the State was one that a statesman of that time could readily understand. Plato and Colbert had more points in common than one would expect. Royal proclamations, letters of the Privy Council,

statutes of the realm laid down regulations, and these were enforced by an army of officials.

In seventeenth-century Ireland the effects of the Mercantile policy can be clearly discerned. England treated Ireland as France treated Canada, as Spain treated America, or as Holland treats Java.¹ She was the mother-country; Ireland, the daughter-country, was bound by the ideas of those days to give way constantly in all cases where there was a conflict of interests. As the American colonies suffered at the hands of England in the eighteenth century, so did the Irish colony in the seventeenth. The American perhaps did not feel the effects of the restrictive policy so keenly as the Irishman. For he lived a long distance from England, and his economic prosperity assumed a form different from that of the mother-country. Ireland was close at hand, and was so rent internally that she was never in a position to offer effective resistance to the Mercantilist politician. The commercial reason for keeping Ireland in due subjection was reinforced by a political reason, for we must never forget that the dominant motive of Mercantilism is political. That island had been for a long time on friendly terms with France, and that in itself was in those days sufficient justification for trade restriction. French cruisers were perpetually interfering with English trade, capturing ships with valuable cargoes from the West Indies. Reprisals might teach the Irish that the price of the French alliance was inconveniently heavy. "Ireland is a province," wrote Archbishop King, "and generally speaking it has been the fate of all provinces to be under Governors who had no interest or concern to seek their welfare. See Eccles. chap. 5, verse 8, 'in a province.' Witness Poyning and Strafford, the one enslaved the parliament of Ireland and the other got to himself and followers above * * * in five years."² Sir John Davies

¹ Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays*, 72. "The commercial restraints formed part of a protective policy which was at that time general in Europe, and which was severely felt in the American colonies." On French policy, cf. A. Babeau, *La Province sous l'ancien régime*; P. Bonnassieux, *Les Grandes Compagnies de commerce*; Daveste de la Chavanne, *Histoire des classes agricoles en France*; E. Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières en France*; L. Pauliat, *La Politique coloniale et l'ancien régime*—this is a most valuable work.

² The exact sum of money is undecipherable.

further tells us that the covetousness and ambition of the chief governors of Ireland kept it in continual warfare and bloodshed for four hundred years and would have done so to the end of the world in all likelihood, had not James I. stopped it by chance, having admitted the Irish to the benefit of the laws." The English statesman always felt afraid that the French might make another descent upon Ireland, that the Irish might rise afresh on behalf of James II. Filled with these fears, his hand pressed heavily upon all trade that might interfere with the home product. Unfortunately for Ireland this conflict of interests occurred at almost every possible point. The two countries had reached much the same stage of progress in their industrial development. For before the days of the industrial revolution, England was as agricultural as Ireland, and its manufactures, such as they were, were of a similar type. The Irish Parliament, unlike the Scotch, was so legislatively subordinate to the Crown of England, that it was unable to offer any opposition worthy of the name. Many of the men who might have saved their country left after the second siege of Limerick. Fourteen thousand sailed from the shores of Ireland.¹ National calamity, even dearly bought victory, possesses a terrible power of debasement. Italy never lost the mark of the Hannibalic war; and it is obvious to all that the last great strife in Europe did much harm to France, and conferred perhaps but little good upon Germany. Ireland was the baser for the loss of its natural leaders in the flight of "the wild geese." Their energies impelled them in their country's hour of sore need to offer their services at foreign courts, only too often to trail back in the end with broken wings to Ireland. England felt their pecking on many a battlefield, and in her resentment she resolved to clip the wings of the birds that remained behind. If the stray geese should ever fly home they would find the flock there unable to indulge in the luxury of flight. Such a sad sight may have been vouchsafed to the dying gaze of Sarsfield, when he saw his life-blood ebbing away. "Would to God," he muttered,

¹ Mullala, *View of Irish Affairs since the Revolution*, p. 153 (Dublin, 1795).

"this were for Ireland." Ireland was all the poorer at home, though her renown was increased abroad, for the flight of so many fine birds. France, Spain, and Austria gained little compared with all that Ireland lost when so many of her gallant sons deserted her.

Dislike of Ireland, because she was the friend of France, was deepened by the character of England's struggle for existence, after the Revolution of 1688. Stern as had been her fight for life with Spain till the defeat of the Armada in 1588, a still longer conflict lay before her till Louis was finally defeated. With Sir John Seeley we see that she fought another Hundred Years' War with France, and the prize was no less than the colonial headship of the world. From 1688 to 1714 a practically incessant struggle goes on with France, from the Nine Years' War of 1688 to 1697 to the War of the Spanish Succession of 1701 to 1714. Though a brief breathing space of four years is allowed the combatants in Europe, yet during this time extensive preparations are being made on both sides for the coming fray. The English wanted every recruit and they saw with dismay and anger not only that no men came to them from Ireland, but that many Irish joined the detested French.

In the days of Charles I. troops from Ireland had landed in order to aid the absolute monarch. Irish troops had also pitched their camp on Hounslow Heath to aid the absolute monarch's despotic son. In fact Ireland seemed to support the tyranny of the Stuarts at home and to aid that of the Bourbons abroad. Strafford and Ormonde developed the industrial resources of Ireland, and in each case the development meant danger to England. The English realised that they must avert such risk, and the plain way seemed to be the systematic depression of industrial Ireland, if her interests in any wise conflicted with those of the mother-country.¹ The Mercantile policy

¹ On the extent and character of Irish trade, cf. the following British Museum manuscripts: 790; 17,406; 21,135; 21,138; 2,902, f. 134; 20,710 gives a most valuable list of all the imports into England from Christmas 1692 to Christmas 1695, and of the imports into Ireland from 1693 to 1697; 18,022; 21,135; 28,940; 28,941; 28,942; 28,945; 28,946; 28,947; 30,212; 32,013. See I. 6. 9 (T.C.D.); the Records of Public Departments, The Customs, Ledger of Imports and Exports, Ireland, 1698-1829; Colonial Office Records, P.R.O., Ireland, i. 1697-1704, ii. 1706-1717, v. 1697-1729.

begins to play a large part in Irish industrial life after the Restoration, for with the Cattle and Navigation Acts of 1663 we notice the rise of the restrictive code.¹ By the former the English Parliament forbade the importation of Irish cattle between the 1st of July and the 20th of December in any year. The prohibition of this trade compelled the Irish to turn their attention to other articles of export, and the result was that the provision trade with foreign countries, and England and its colonial plantations, became largely extended. The low price of Irish provisions induced strangers, notably the Dutch and French, to victual their ships in Ireland instead of in England.² Another noteworthy effect of the prohibition was that Irish farmers, instead of breeding large cattle, began to breed sheep on an extended scale.³ The mercantile régime forbade the mother-country to permit Ireland to export wool in a raw stage anywhere save to England. Consequently the export of this article to England went on steadily increasing till the time of the Revolution. Yet Petty estimated that the home trade consumed three times as much wool as the foreign.⁴ This is one indication out of many that the woollen market was much more extensive in Ireland than in England.⁵ The wool trade, unlike the linen, was largely concerned with the domestic and home demand. It is evident, therefore, that though legislation might help or hinder it, yet the effects of measures, whether restrictive or otherwise, could not, from the nature of the case, be very marked. On the

¹ Contrast J. Collins, Plea for bringing in Irish Cattle and keeping out Fish caught by Foreigners (1680). The *Treasury Papers*, vol. iv. 49, 59, Aug. 5, 1689. Report of the Commissioner of Customs to the Lords of the Treasury on the petition of John Vernon of Dublin, merchant, praying, on behalf of himself and several distressed Protestants, the relaxation of customs duties in their favour: advising beef imported might remain in the King's warehouse until the petitioners could export it for the fleet and army in Ireland, or export it to a foreign market; that the petitioners might enter the new drapery on payment of customs *ad valorem*; that vinegar might be delivered free and tobacco exported for the service of the fleet and navy in Ireland notwithstanding embargo. The proposal was agreed to.

² The author of *Britannia Languens* looks upon the low prices as a source of danger to England, pp. 53, 164.

³ Cf. J. Trevers, *An Essay to the Restoring of our decayed Trade, wherein is described the Smugglers', Lawyers' and Officers' Frauds* (1675), p. 19.

⁴ Petty, *Political Anatomy*, pp. 67-68.

⁵ *The Interest of England as it stands with relation to the Trade of Ireland considered*, p. 9 (Lond. 1698).

other hand, the demand for linen was essentially international, that is, it came from England, the plantations, and other parts of the world.¹ With this article, undoubtedly, legislation might prove a considerable factor in its encouragement or discouragement. In the foreign market Ireland too possessed the good fortune of not having a serious rival, for the Scots had not yet begun to interest themselves much in linen.

Though the Irish merchant bore the expense of carriage, and the tax of two shillings a stone on wool, yet he was able to undersell his English rival. The fall in price of wool in the early part of William's reign affected every county in England, for it was one of the chief commodities of trade of those days. Ireland could not, at the less price thus ruling, secure an English market, for the home-country was now in a position to supply adequately her own markets; the daughter-country was compelled to work up wool into the manufactured state or to find a market elsewhere. Though the mercantile code forbade the latter alternative, a clandestine exportation to Holland, France, and Spain soon sprang up.² The high prices of wool in those lands tempted the merchant to run all the risks of a contraband traffic. Doubtless other motives besides the pecuniary one assisted in turning the thoughts of an Irishman to France, for had he not relatives there engaged in the mighty duel between William and Louis then proceeding? Trade may follow the flag, but in Ireland at least it has often followed the line of communication with the trader's family. Combined with the satisfaction of making a handsome profit, some pleasure might be derived from the fact that he was indirectly crippling the commerce of England, and thereby helping to fight her, if not with the pike and skein, at least with the wool-sack.

When the Irish saw that the export of wool to England proved unprofitable they tried the plan of manufacturing it, a resource that was sure to end in disaster, for the

¹ Cf. J. Cary, *Considerations relating to the carrying on of the Linen Manufacture in the Kingdom of Ireland* (Lond. 1704).

² *The Interest of England*, p. 7.

mother-country also manufactured it. Of course we with our twentieth-century eyes condemn such interference as unjust in the last degree, but to the vision of a seventeenth-century statesman it seemed quite fair. England was waging a vital struggle with a wealthy opponent, and if her commercial resources were crippled, her chances of ultimate success were to that extent destroyed. She acted precisely as either France or Spain would have done in a similar case. The export of cattle clashed with English interests, and therefore it was promptly forbidden. As a result of this prohibition the wool trade assumed dimensions of importance, and it too competed with England. Inevitably in the seventeenth century proscription of such a manufacture must ensue the moment it attained a position of consequence in the industrial world. At first the trade was on a small scale and England did not, therefore, trouble it to any serious extent. The English merchants began, however, to perceive that the Act of 1663 was a mistake, for the Irish sheep might prove a more dangerous animal than the Irish cow.¹ They saw that if cattle were allowed to be exported wool would not be forthcoming. They beheld the large provision trade and the extended wool manufacture with envious eyes. The evil results of the first serious interference with Irish trade did not deter them from making a second. With a belief, waning no doubt, in the divine right of kings, they combined a belief, growing most vigorously, in the divine right of parliaments. The one article of faith is perhaps as irrational as the other, yet both, especially the latter, counted for much in the mind of the seventeenth-century employer.

The great Navigation Act of 1660 and that of 1663 did not differentiate the Irish in any degree from the English; the plantation trade was as free to the former as it was to the latter. The thirteenth clause of the 1660 Act allowed the colonies to ship the "enumerated" commodities to Ireland as well as to England. The Acts

¹ Cf. *An Enquiry how far it might be Expedient to permit the Importation of Irish Cattle* (Lond. 1693).

of 1670 and 1671 mark a widely different policy. In them the true inwardness of the mercantilist system in Ireland stands more or less revealed. Ireland was a colony, and so was America. Colonies must trade with the mother-country, and this trade must be conducted directly. For them foreign trade did not exist in any sense of the term. Hence Ireland must send her goods to England, and America must do the same. The Irishman might buy American articles in England and the American might buy Irish articles in England, but neither was allowed to send his goods directly to the other colony. The 1670 and 1671 measures prohibited cotton, wool, fustic or other dyeing wood, ginger, indigo, sugar, tobacco, coffee, cocoanuts, whalefins, raw silks, hides, skins, molasses, rice, speckle and Jamaica wood, and pot or pearl ashes from America from being carried to Ireland, unless first landed in England.¹ As these enumerated articles practically comprised the whole of the plantation trade, Ireland was left without any direct trade with the colonies. An observer even in those days saw that this roundabout procedure must enhance the price of the commodity, but he also saw—and this was the decisive influence—that the mother-country reaped additional profit. Her gain might not make up for her daughter's loss, but that was an insignificant detail. The Irishman saw the English fleet, his detested rivals, put in at his harbour of Kinsale for victuals in order to continue the voyage to the West Indies. He knew that he was being taxed not only by the mercantile policy directly but also indirectly, for he was obliged to contribute to the upkeep of the cruisers that convoyed the fleet. It is little wonder that the depredations of the French cruisers caused him to feel no pangs of grief; he felt that they were paying off some of the debt he owed England.

The French had assisted the Irish to reduce the balance of this debt, but when they became bankrupt, so far as Ireland was concerned, the debt rapidly augmented. As Ireland had soon recovered from the effects of the

¹ Add. 21,133, f. 13, 30.

Cromwellian war, so now she speedily shook off those of the Revolutionary war.¹ But she was not long in finding out that the days of Ormonde had passed away. Instead of a native ruler with some sympathy for her welfare she was confronted with a Capel, who, in spite of his hereditary connection with the country, ruled entirely in the interests of England. He at once perceived the dangers threatening the latter from the prosperity of the country he ruled over. The chief obnoxious commodity in this connection was undoubtedly wool.² It would have been of little purpose to remind him that the policy he represented had called this industry into being on a large scale. In reply he would undoubtedly have adapted Louis's famous phrase, in this connection, for if England had raised it up England might pull it down. The Lords Justices saw with much alarm the rapid progress of the woollen industry after the Revolution.³ The notices in the Journals of the Irish House of Commons are scanty, but they all imply that this manufacture was flourishing.⁴ On the 25th of October 1695, the committee on trade decided that the Act of Charles II. for the proper working up of all sorts of cloth, called the old drapery and the new drapery, was "impracticable and prejudicial to the trade of the woollen manufactory of this kingdom."⁵ The members noted the defects in the methods of the official Aulnager in searching and sealing the articles that came under his inspection.⁶ Mr. Thomas Brodrick brought the report of this Committee before the house and recommended that an additional duty of twelvepence a yard on all imports of old drapery, and of fourpence a yard on imports of new drapery, ought to be imposed. The cheapness of living and the cheapness of wool attracted English weavers to Ireland.⁷ The manufacturers of

¹ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, III. i. 45, 65.

² Oct. 12, 1690: Case of Protestant Woollen Manufactures [*Parliamentary Papers*, Oct. 6-9, 1721. Report, Colliery, Ballycastle].

³ Hely Hutchinson, *Commercial Restraints of Ireland*, p. 23.

⁴ *The Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 725; II. i. 733.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 725.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 733.

⁷ King to Mr. Annesley, June 15, 1689: "It seems a little odd that the cheapness of necessaries of life and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth shou'd be made an argument agst. allowing us to make any, which to me sounds as if one shou'd

Tiverton, Taunton, and Ashburton were alarmed at the migration of their workmen and the competition of the colonists, and the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations were ordered to take the matter into consideration.¹ The members of the Irish Parliament became increasingly apprehensive as to the English attitude towards the large volume of trade. This feeling is evident in a petition they presented to the Lords Justices on the 1st of October 1698.² "We pray leave," it states, "to assure your Excellencies, that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manufacture here and to render the same useful to England as well as advantageous to this Kingdom, and that we hope to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England." The change in tone is more decidedly marked a fortnight later.³ All the woollen manufacturers, freemen and foreigners, in the city and county of Dublin presented a petition on behalf of the threatened industry, and this was voted "false, scandalous, and of dangerous consequence."

In June the English Parliament urged in a petition to William the suppression of the woollen trade and the encouragement of the linen.⁴ The King consented to do all in his power to carry out a policy so evidently to the advantage of England. The speech of the Lords Justices to the Irish Parliament on the 27th of September 1698 illustrates the essence of Mercantilism. "The settlement of this manufacture (*i.e.* the linen) will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this Kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose; whereas the linen and hempen manufacture will not only be encouraged as

say to his child you have a good stomach and here is plenty of meal and very good, therefore you shall not eat a bit" (King's MSS.). *The Interest of England Considered*, p. 19. Bonn, ii. p. 161.

¹ *English House of Commons Journals*, xii. pp. 63-64, 37, 40. On the report of the Commissioners, cf. xii. pp. 437-440; Massie, *Observations on the New Cyder Tax*, p. 2; 9715 (Brit. Mus.), f. 158.

² *Irish House of Commons Journals*, ii. 997.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 1007.

⁴ *English House of Commons Journals*, xii. p. 338.

consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this Kingdom both useful and necessary to England.”¹ The fact that the Irish wool trade was of much larger volume than the linen was not of the smallest consequence to a Government prepared to sacrifice everything to the main industries of the nation. The English tried to stamp out the embryo cotton trade of Lancaster, because it diverted men and money from the woollen industry. Modern Protection claims that it brings about great diversity of occupation, but its forefather, Mercantilism, made no such claim.

Dutch and Spanish merchants in the early days of William's reign imported friezes from Ireland, and English traders imported them too with the design of selling them abroad.² Still the trade did not attain large dimensions, for it only totalled £70,521 during 1687, the year of the maxim export. In 1698 it was reported that twelve thousand Protestant families in Dublin, and thirty thousand in the rest of Ireland were engaged in the wool trade.³ The report is entirely untrustworthy, for there were certainly not more than seven thousand families living in the metropolis at the time, still it shows the common belief in the magnitude of the occupation.⁴ As the population of Ireland slightly exceeded one million⁵ it is

¹ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 994. Cf. II. i. 225.

² Coke, *England's Improvement by Foreign Trade*; Webber, p. 17.

³ O'Connor, *History of the Irish Catholics*, p. 149.

⁴ Add. 21,138 (Brit. Mus.). Houses in Dublin in 1702, 1712, and 1718 = 6604, 9162, 10,004. Add. 17,406 (Brit. Mus.). Population of Dublin, Jan. 10, 1695 = 40,508. There are 230 men and 144 hearths in T.C.D.

Houses of Dublin divided into 100 equal parts :	Good almost	. 78
"	Poor	. 8
"	Waste	. 14
People of Dublin divided into 100 :	Men	. 25
"	Women	. 29
"	Children	{ M. . 14
"		{ F. . 15
"	Servants	{ M. . 7
"		{ F. . 10
"		M. . 46
"		F. . 54

There are 5999 houses in Dublin, and 29,220 hearths.

⁵ W. Lloyd's *Common Place Book*, 1709 (K. 4. 10, T.C.D.), gives reasons for thinking that on Jan. 10, 1695⁵ there were 1,034,102 people in Ireland. Lloyd estimates the number of houses in Dublin to the rest of the kingdom as 1 to 40, and the number of people in Dublin to the rest of the kingdom as 1 to 26.

impossible to credit the statement that forty-two thousand families, or two hundred and ten thousand people, were employed in the woollen industry. The Papists too shared in this short-lived commercial prosperity.¹ The extent of the trade can be estimated from the following table compiled from the Southwell and other papers.² It gives the amount of the goods exported from Ireland to all parts of the world.

WOOLLEN GOODS EXPORTED OUT OF IRELAND

Year.	Drapery, New Pieces.	Drapery, Old Pieces.	Frieze.	Stockings.	Wool Yarn.	Wool.	Rugs.	Hats.
				Dozen.				
1685	224	32	444,381	-	-	-	-	-
1687	11,360	103	1,129,716	-	-	-	-	-
1690	247	11	101,419	820	-	-	3	-
1691	1,470	50	150,691	1,641	-	-	5	-
1692	1,500	62	62,771	1,618	-	-	-	-
1693	2,726	23	34,681	898	1897	36,888	53	-
1694	2,912	28	20,839	2,370	1492	38,794	-	-
1695	2,608	17	41,146	1,251	883	69,751	-	-
1696	4,413	34 $\frac{3}{4}$	104,167	2,919	7900	89,783	144	-
1698	23,285 $\frac{1}{2}$	281 $\frac{1}{4}$	666,901	770	-	-	458	4470

[A piece is 27 yards.]

A careful observer estimates the weight of the wool exported for four years:—

	Stones.		Stones.
1695 . . .	35,804	1697 . . .	204,594
1696 . . .	86,625	1698 . . .	299,336

¹ *The Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 247, 248. See "A Petition of the Protestant Woollen Manufacturers of the City and County of Dublin, as well Freemen as Foreigners in Behalf of themselves and the Rest of the Woollen Manufacturers of Ireland" sent to the Irish House of Commons, 1698. Cf. the *Journals* thereof, II. i. 247. Not more than one-third of the woollen industry was in the hands of the Roman Catholics; Bonn, ii. p. 161.

² Sheffield, pp. 150, 152. Add. 21,138; Add. 17,406 (Brit. Mus.); 2902 (Brit. Mus.), f. 4, 137. On the wool exports from Ireland from Christmas 1694 to Christmas 1697, cf. Colonial Office Records, P.R.O., Ireland (Record Office, London), vol. 5, Entry Book A, f. 89; Board of Trade, Ireland, 1, 2, 5, f. 89.

With these lists we may usefully compare the amount of wool imported from England for six years¹:—

Year.	Drapery, New Pieces.	Drapery, Old Pieces.	Stockings.	Value.	
1693	90,259	14,504	4,710		
1694	49,620	13,085	-		
1695	672,932	136,562	1,098		
1696	45,064	15,227	2,874		
				Value of New Drapery.	Value of Old Drapery.
1700	24,522	12,119		£2,043	£9,014
1706	15,308	5,514		1,913	4,135

It is evident from an examination of these tables that the statements of King and Keating as to the prosperity of Ireland in the pre-Tyrconnelian days receive ample confirmation. Even when the Lord Deputy arrived trade could not be destroyed in a moment, and accordingly 1687 marks an expansion of the export of new drapery not surpassed till 1698.²

It is also obvious that, so far as we can get trustworthy statistics—for they are most difficult to obtain—Ireland imported vastly more old drapery than she exported. She also imported more new drapery than she exported till 1698 when the balance of trade, to use the phraseology of those times, became favourable to her.³ Even in stockings the balance was very often against her. From 1690 to 1696 the trade in new drapery is slowly, if we except the setback in the year 1695, increasing, and in 1698 undergoes enormous expansion. This is no pæan of victory but rather the swan-song of a doomed industry. The export of frieze is marked by growth and decline: there is no steady movement in either direction.⁴ Like the new drapery

¹ Sheffield, *Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland*; 2902 (Brit. Mus.); Add. 17,406; Add. 21,138 (Brit. Mus.).

² *Ibid.* p. 154.

³ *Report of the Lords of Committee on Trade and Plantations*, p. 29 (1785).

⁴ MacCulloch, *Collections of Tracts on Commerce*, p. 402 (Lond. 1859), p. 418.

trade it receives decided development in the last year of its existence on a large scale. The third table shows the effects of the prohibition of the woollen trade even upon England, for in 1700 and 1706 there is a marked diminution in the amount of wool shipped to Ireland. After the latter year the population of Ireland increased, and consequently in 1714 Ireland imported as large a quantity of wool as she had done before the Act of 1699. Of course one effect of the woollen Acts was to make the Irish pay more attention to the home market.

To the investigator of Irish industrial life few things are more trying than the lack of sufficient evidence, and in particular of trustworthy statistics. A reference here and another there may be found, but often the available material fails to give the details required. This limitation must be borne in mind when sifting the evidence for the growth of the wool trade. We have not so much data as we desire. From what we have, it is obvious that the trade was on a small scale compared with that of England, yet there was much hope lying before it.¹ An Act of 1705 illustrates the varied output in this industry, for it mentions broadcloths, half cloths, druggets, simple serges, cloth serges, flannels, cloth and worsted druggets, druggets mixed with silk, cotton or linen yarn, ratteens, kersies, friezes, narrow bays, paragons, farandines, camblets, worsted stuffs, and worsted stockings.² Inspired by the fear of the possibilities of this industry, on the 3rd of January 1698 the Lords Justices, Winchester and Galway, sent the message of doom to the House of Commons.³ "We have received his Majesty's commands," it ran, "to send unto you a bill intituled, An Act for laying an additional duty upon woollen manufactures exported out of this Kingdom; the passage of which in this session his

¹ *A Discourse on the Woollen Manufactory of Ireland* (Dublin, 1698); C.S.P., MSS. (Record Office, Dublin), Sir W. Robinson to J. Dawson: "Disinclination of people of money to meddle with any security in Ireland especially towards Ulster, it being as they say too near Scotland" (July 4, 1704).

² *Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 481.

³ Cf. the address of the House of Lords to the King, depreciating the growing manufacture of cloth and seeking encouragement of the linen manufacture there, June 9, 1698 (*Treasury Papers*, vol. liii. 44. p. 168).

Majesty recommends to you as what may be of great advantage for the preservation of the trade of this Kingdom.”¹ Twenty per cent was to be levied on the old drapery and ten on the new, except friezes, from the 25th of March 1699 to the 25th of June 1702.² Mr. George Rogers and Mr. Weaver, junr., were the tellers for the seventy-four yeas, and Lord Moore and Colonel Hamilton the tellers for the thirty-four noes.³ The House of Commons passed by this large majority the measure that inflicted the most serious injury upon one of the most important of Irish industries. These rates were intended to be countervailing, not prohibitive, though in practice they proved the latter.⁴ The Irish Act of 1698 proved the preliminary to the great English Act of 1699. This measure prohibited perpetually from the 20th of June 1699 the exportation from Ireland of all goods made or mixed with wool, except to England, with the licence of the Commissioners of the Revenue.⁵ The heavy duties imposed by an English Act of 1660 were deliberately retained.⁶

King, in his private correspondence, gives vent to his feelings of indignation at the apathy of Parliament.⁷ On the 10th of March 1697 he writes: “I have considered with deep regret the insensibility of the people here in the matter of our trade, the Bill concerning which is not only destructive to us in my opinion by our present suffering, but likewise by the example; for if the Parliament of England makes laws for us at this rate they may likewise tax us and so beggar us when they please. I have spoken

¹ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 287; cf. II. i. p. 1104 and II. i. p. 1082.

² 10 Will. III. c. 5 (Irish).

³ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, ii. 1083.

⁴ *English House of Commons Journals*, xii. p. 439.

⁵ 10 and 11 Will. c. 10 (Eng.).

⁶ 12 Car. ii. c. 4.

⁷ Compare Sir R. Cox, Oct. 28, 1699, Dublin: “And as to Woollen Bill, that I should be for it, if I were convinced England would reap that benefit by it they expected, which I believed they would not. And I feared the consequences here would be the diminution of the number of English, which were already fewer than either Scots or Irish, and the alienation of our affections, which in time would render the disaffected in the interest of the Scots, and oblige the well affected to return to England, as I should do for one. It would follow that whenever England has few friends here, it would be difficult to retaine this kingdom, and perhaps impossible to recover it. Since therefore we are related to the people of England, and are even passionately affected towards them, it is not their interest to disoblige or impoverish us, no more then it is ours to provoke or prejudice them” (*Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv. 2. 610).

to Noblemen, Bishops, commoners, citizens, merchants, but all to no purpose ; everyone bemoans the matter but not one will stir hand or foot. The Government are little concerned, Dublin is in hands that are afraid, the Commons, headed by the Speaker, is in the interest that endeavours to depress Ireland. The Irish are overjoyed at these proceedings for they reckon that the lands will generally be tenanted by them, they being most necessary, if the gentlemen be obliged to throw up their flocks and to say truth they always looked on great flocks as hurtful to their interest, and therefore the first thing the rabble did in 1688 was to destroy them, as to the worth they will be rather gainers than sufferers at present by this Act, for they will have room to enlarge their plantations, and they propose already the way of conveying off such quantities of wool and manufactures as can be kept out of the Kingdom by stealth, the principal losers will be the English gentlemen and tradesmen, but they are yet so devoted to England and have such hopes of return to it that they seem rather desirous to enlarge than lessen the power of the Parliament of England, in the number I reckon our Judges and all officers of the Crown who promise themselves during their time less trouble from the Parliament of England than they could find from a Parliament here.”¹ This letter throws much needed light upon the reasons why the Parliament showed so little resolution in opposing the fatal Bill of 1698. King tried, though in vain, to make his adopted countrymen see the dangers that threatened them. He urged all the Grand Juries to address remonstrances to the Lords Justices, pointing out the injustice the measure would inflict on both Kingdoms. Such a course of action must, he foresaw, alienate the affections of the colonists from the Crown.² The Grand Jurors, in their short-sightedness, refused to act as the wise archbishop proposed. “Some seem pleased with the King,” he notes, “and some say it were no matter if we had no trade at all, and that land would be cheap and our

¹ Letter to Mr. Annesley (King MSS.).

² King to Mr. Jackson of Coleraine, Apr. 2, 1698 ; cf. *An Argument upon the Woollen Manufacture of Great Britain*.

gentry and nobility be obliged to stay at home, we labour and work for them now, and after all send the money to them in England, as good be idle and pay them less. You perceive," he regretfully adds, "what wild politicians we have." "We could not"—and we feel certain the patriotic archbishop did his utmost—"throw out the tax on wool manufactures."

The consequences of the suppression of the wool trade are unfortunately evident on all sides.¹ From 1698 to 1710 the export statistics show a marked fall in value due mainly to the absence of wool.² Petitions came to the House of Commons from the operatives in Dublin and other places, stating the evil effects of the new measure.³ The appeals of the manufacturers fell, as King sorrowfully shows, upon deaf ears. Drapery new and drapery old disappeared from the pages of the Custom House books. No doubt the Irish might still export to the colonies by way of England, but the drawbacks allowed on the re-exportation of woollen goods were not sufficient to induce any great number of Irish manufacturers to favour this mercantile expedient. In the first year of Queen Anne's reign the English Parliament allowed the Irish merchants to send clothing directly to some Irish regiments stationed in the Leeward Islands, but two years later this concession was withdrawn.⁴

Of course the clandestine trade with France received an immense stimulus from the 1699 Act, though two severe laws of William III. endeavoured to destroy it.⁵

¹ Richardson, *An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade* (1744), p. 30; Caldwell's *Enquiry, in Debates*, 760-769; Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, iii. 182; Graziers' *Complaint* (1726), p. 19; cf. A. Dobbs, *An Essay upon the Trade and Improvement of Ireland* (1729), ii. 336; *List of Absentees* (1729), ii. 279; *Collection of Tracts concerning State of Ireland* (Brit. Mus.) 884. h 12 (2) (1729), p. 43; Bonn, ii. p. 162.

² Yet see King's letter to Sir Robert Southwell, Nov. 1699 (King MSS.); Dobbs, *Essay upon the Trade of Ireland*.

³ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, IV. i. 16.

⁴ 1 Anne, c. 2 (Eng.); 3 and 4 Anne, c. 8 (Eng.).

⁵ 7 and 8 Will. III. c. 28; 10 and 11 Will. III. c. 10 (Eng.); cf. W. Smith, *An Essay for the Recovery of Trade*, p. 18 (Lond. 1661); cf. 10 and 11 Will. III. c. 10 (Eng.); *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxii. 67. p. 316, July 8, 1699, on wool licences: the third letter, headed Reasons against passing the Act for preventing the export of the woollen manufacture of Ireland to foreign parts, is valuable. A French ship was seized by Capt. Rich. Brown under the Act prohibiting the export of wool, etc., from Ireland. 9716 (Brit. Mus.); Add. 21,138 (Brit. Mus.).

Despite all the vigilance of the officials much wool found its way to French soil, especially from 1712 to 1719.¹ There is accessible a short manuscript account of the methods the Irish employed in the export of wool and woollen yarn from the southern coasts to France. They packed the best combed wool into beef or herring barrels and washed the barrels externally with brine in order to deceive the English cruisers in the event of search. The barrels were weighted with lead or shot so that each might weigh 230 or 240 pounds, the proper weight of a barrel of beef. The casks were seldom put on board in ports where the vessels were usually examined. They were conveyed into secluded creeks where they were shipped off at leisure. During the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession, French privateers regularly called for the wool and the yarn, "there being a secret correspondence as well as French passes procured for the support of this practice."² After the Peace of Ryswick it was noticed that decided progress had been made in the French woollen manufacture. Brest, Morlaix, La Rochelle, Nantes, and Bordeaux were the favourite ports, for they fronted the southern shores of Ireland and were not more than forty or fifty hours' sail from them. These "are the places appointed for the carrying on of this trade and there are funds of money by the French King's particular directions lodged in those places for this use." Webber estimated that France obtained annually three hundred thousand packs of wool from Ireland.³ It is

¹ Webber, *A Short Account of the State of our Woollen Manufacture*, p. 10 (Lond. 1739), p. 7; C.S.P., MSS. (Dublin), E. Lewis to E. Southwell, Sept. 11, 1705; Oct. 4, 1705; Dec. 25, 1705.

² Cf. *Reasons humbly offered against Laying a Further Duty on Yarn Imported from Ireland*, p. 117 (Lond. 1718); *Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, lxxxix. 110. p. 241: Report of 35 ships sent from Ireland to France engaged in the woollen trade. Letter of Thos. Knox to Mr. Sec. Lowndes, enclosing for the Lord High Treasurer an answer to the Commissioners of Revenue's report relating to the discovery made by him as to the trade between Ireland and France. Knox reports in three months' inquiry 35 ships,

Mar. 10, 170³₄, 21, 133, f. 16. Six books and twenty-one bundles of letters were put into the hands of the Lords Justices by Mr. Baker and they gave "a clear insight into what we found in perusing these books, viz. a settled and established trade and correspondence with France." Cf. f. 30, 39, 50, 53, 57 and 59. The last page is noteworthy.

³ P. 11.

impossible to secure accurate accounts of this illicit commerce, but Webber's estimate is certainly exaggerated.

The Irish were not altogether consistent in the observance of the canons of Mercantilism, for the money earned in this clandestine trade was received in the shape of the commodities they required, and upon the export duties on these—silks, brandies, and other articles—Louis ordered a special rebate. "The French King being thus constantly supplied with wool from Ireland was not only encouraged to set up the several manufactures at the places before mentioned, but hath entered into contract with the Spaniards to supply them with their thin stuffs instead of our bays and serges, etc., which they have done during this war and they themselves confess could not be performed without our long wool and which in time, if not prevented will beat us out of our Spanish, as it has already out of our Turkish trade."¹ For every three or four packs of medium French cloth, the article in greatest demand, one pack of English or Irish wool was indispensable.² The writer proceeds to enlarge on the results of this successful sharp practice, as he conceives it to be. He gives the prices of wool in France and in England in order to show the tempting prices offered in the former, but here, unfortunately, the page is so broken that the lists cannot be deciphered. In order to realise the high prices, high wages were paid, and Irish weavers emigrated to France, Spain, Portugal and Holland in order to take advantage of them. To England the loss of the flourishing wool trade was great, but to the Irish merchants it was irreparable. "The restrictions on the Irish woollen manufacturers," writes Miss Murray, "resulted in a clandestine exportation of Irish wool to foreign countries, and in the emigration of Irish weavers; these were some of the causes which led to the successful establishment abroad of woollen industries which began to rival that of England; this foreign com-

¹ Cf. Ward's *The State of the Woollen Manufacture considered* (Lond. 1731); *The Case of the Woollen Manufacturers of Great Britain in relation to the Trade with France* (Lond. 1713). Prior, *Observations on the Trade of Ireland*, p. 69.

² *Argument upon the Woollen Manufacture of Great Britain* (Lond. 1737). Cf. Gee's *Impartial Inquiry into the Importance and Present State of the Woollen Manufactories of Great Britain*, pp. 29, 32 (Lond. 1742); *Britannia Languens*.

petition led directly to a decay in the English woollen manufacture ; this produced a fall in the price of wool in England whether English or Irish ; this fall in the price of wool resulted not only in an increase in the clandestine exportation of Irish wool, but also to a large smuggling trade in English wool, for the English wool-growers could now get a better price abroad than at home for their wool ; this increase in the amount of English and Irish wool obtained by foreigners enabled them to make still further progress in their woollen manufactures ; and this growth of foreign competition led to a further decay in the English manufacture. Each of these causes, in fact, reacted on every other cause.”¹ The Mercantile policy prevented the growth of an industry for which Ireland was admirably adapted. By crushing this manufacture the authorities drove the Irish to devote their attention to land. But if agriculture became depressed there was no possibility of prosperity in any other direction, for the farmer was not the chief member of the commercial community ; he was practically the only member of it. The letters and books of Archbishop King, Bishops Boulter and Berkeley, Skelton and Dean Swift, the pamphlets and papers of the time, the House of Commons Journals, all tell the same tale of want and misery, due, they all agree, to the Mercantile system.² On the 23rd of November 1703 the House of Commons petitioned the Queen upon “the distressing condition of your Majesty’s subjects of this your Kingdom (and more especially of the industrial Protestants thereof) by the almost total loss of trade, and decay of our manufactures.”³ From 1706 to 1714 the condition of the country seems to have steadily deteriorated : destitution was everywhere on

¹ Miss Murray, *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*, p. 63.

² See, for example, the *Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, vol. ci. 18, p. 485, Jan. 15, 1706 : “The Lords Justices are of the same opinion as the trustees for the linen manufacture that the promotion of the linen manufacture, under the present great decay of trade, would in all probability be the only means to recover that poor sinking country from its miserable poverty.” It is important to note that the trustees were officials with no interest to be served by encouraging linen.

³ *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 363, Oct. 4, 1703 ; *S.P., Ireland*, Entry Books (Record Office, London), vol. 3, f. 168, Feb. 2, 1703.
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the increase. One proof of this may be observed in the speeches delivered in Parliament, and another is afforded by the fact that the Crown received but scanty supplies from the House of Commons. In 1706 Archbishop King wrote: "The poverty and discouragement of this country are so many that people think themselves happy if they can live, but for anything of curiosity or learning, their hearts are dead to it."¹ The farmers of Devonshire had complained of the competition of a colony, and this argument sufficed to ruin the wool trade. King pleaded, and pleaded in vain, that if any policy strengthened the colonists in Ireland it must ultimately strengthen England also. He tried to show that the prosperity of the wool merchants must mean an increasing purchasing power for English commodities, but his political economy received no attention. Molyneux argued for the independence of Parliament—and this meant the independence of trade—but it is now obvious that much of his inspiration came from the episcopal palace at Derry. Ireland may well feel proud of her adopted son, for a more sterling patriot she has seldom produced. He was a born ruler—a man of intense activity, an able judge of character, and a skilful organiser. France might boast of a Colbert, narrow as was his outlook, but Ireland could also boast of an enlightened and tolerant statesman in Archbishop King.

From the days of Strafford to the days of Anne the manufacture of linen received steady encouragement, for in this department England could not feel the rivalry of Ireland. With the eclipse of the wool trade there bursts forth the splendour of the linen. "We must not only endeavour to enrich them (*i.e.* the Irish)," wrote the Richelieu of Ireland, "but make sure still to hold them dependent on the Crown and not able to subsist without us."² The Duke of Ormonde, supported by the Irish Parliament, followed the example of Strafford in developing this Irish trade.³ He planted French colonies at Dublin,

¹ King to Dr. Woodward, Feb. 6, 1706 (King MSS.).

² Letters and Despatches of Viscount Strafford (Lond. 1739), 93.

³ *Irish Journals of the House of Commons*, i. 589, 571.

Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Portarlington, and Lisburn, and countenanced the efforts of the refugees to establish the manufacture of gloves and woollen goods and to introduce silk wear.¹ Through the instrumentality of Sir William Temple, then Ambassador at Brussels, he procured the landing of five hundred Brabant families skilled in the art of making linen, while he assisted many to come from La Rochelle, the Island of Rhé, and from Jersey.² Curiously enough in 1693 we find a petition from five Zeelanders to be sent to Ireland to teach the natives commerce.³ As Irish linen could not be exported to England the articles were supplied to the home market exclusively, and in 1669 we find two flourishing factories at Chapelizod and at Carrickfergus. The trade, however, was then a very small one indeed compared with the vigorous woollen industry. In 1700 the total exportation amounted in value to only £14,112.⁴ Irish weaving was markedly inferior to the French, and France supplied the English market.⁵ Of course the coming of the Huguenots led the way to many improvements. Before the days of the Industrial Revolution skilled labour was more important than capital in improving a backward manufacture. Though the refugees did not bring much property with them, their nimble fingers and their busy brain more than compensated for this deficiency. They settled in Lisnagarvey, Dundalk, Dublin, Kilkenny, Innishannon, Portarlington, Waterford, Youghal, and Cork. Their want of capital was, however, a drawback to some degree, for Ireland was an undoubtedly poor country. The lack of security for property hindered men from exerting themselves to the utmost, and this security was required to be given not only by the Government, but also against the Government.

The funds for an important linen company with a

¹ Smiles, *Huguenot Settlements in England and Ireland*, i. 357.

² Carte, ii. 283-84; iv. 284. Cf. Sir W. Temple, *Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland*; Carte, ii. 337, 342. M. J. Bonn, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland*, ii. 159.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. 34,340.

⁴ *Irish House of Commons Journals*, xvi. 362.

⁵ Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, ii. 343.

capital of about £7000 were subscribed by the English and the French.¹ Those were the days of corporations, not of individual enterprise. Accordingly the subscribers formed themselves into a joint-stock company, working under a charter granted by the Crown. Some time before the year 1690 a patent had been issued for the establishment of linen looms, and this patent was acquired by a Huguenot refugee, Nicholas Dupin, who was fully abreast of all French improvements.² On the 20th of May 1690, Dupin, Henry Million, with others, were incorporated by charter as the Governors and Assistants of the King's and Queen's Corporation for the Linen Manufacture in England. The grant states that they had, both at home and abroad, undertaken research into the character of the linen trade, and had found out several new methods, *i.e.* the art of preparing flax and hemp for making all sorts of sewing and working threads, the art of making and weaving all kinds of cambrics, lawns, diapers, damasks, bag-hollands, and other varieties of cloth, and the making of looms, heckles, and other engines, which are necessary for preparing the threads, and weaving, working, and bleaching the manufactured articles.³ The grantees received the sole privilege of using these inventions for ever.⁴ This English Company established a branch in Ireland in 1690, and in Scotland in 1694. The capital of the Irish concern was £5000 issued in £5 shares, but in 1691 only £2000 had been subscribed.⁵ Of course the English Company held a practical monopoly of linen, for it controlled the whole market.⁶ The insufficiency of capital and the troubles with the Irish branch early involved it in very grave

¹ On the workings of companies in those days much information is afforded by "The Records of a Scottish Blotter Manufactory at Newmills, Haddingtonshire (1681-1713)," [*Scottish Hist. Soc.*, No. 46], and articles in the *Scottish Hist. Soc.*, beginning with vol. i. p. 407, No. 4, on "Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union."

² *S.P., Dom.*, 1690-91, Will. & Mary, 183, 186-87, Pet. Entry Book, i. 146.

³ *S.P., Dom.*, Will & Mary, Signet Office, 12. 355.

⁴ *Brit. Mus.* 816, m. 13, No. 48.

⁵ Letter of James Bonnell to Tobie Bonnell, in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii. p. 197. Cf. William Hamilton's *Life and Character of James Bonnell, late Accountant General of Ireland*. *Brit. Mus.* 857, h. 29.

⁶ *The Linnen and Woolen Manufactory discovered with the Nature of the Companies in General*, pp. 11-12 (Lond. 1691).

difficulties ; stock exchange speculations also exercised a prejudicial effect upon its fortunes.¹

A rival body sprang up at Drogheda, but as it was unauthorised by any charter it was absorbed by the Chartered Company.² The Irish branch did not care for the control of the parent company, for the latter regulated the amount of its output. Both branches wasted time in recriminations, and naturally ruin fell upon the business.³ Still, much had been accomplished for the secure foundation of the industry. In a letter of the 26th of September 1696, Molyneux writes that looms and bleaching yards were being established by private individuals, and that fine linens were being produced. "We have many of these," he informs us, "in many parts of Ireland, and I believe no country in the world is better adapted for it, especially at the north. I have as good diaper, made by some of my tenants nigh Armagh, as can come to a table, and all other cloth for household use."⁴ In 1696 a Bill was brought forward in the Irish Parliament for the promotion of a new company.⁵ As we have seen, Charles II. and William III. both encouraged the settlement of Protestant strangers, and at last their efforts were rewarded, for Louis Crommelin landed.⁶ He had been virtually driven to Ireland by another Louis, and both men contributed in no scanty degree to making possible the cheerful hum we hear in the busy streets of the Ulster metropolis, then but a small village.⁷ For Crommelin may be regarded as the founder of the linen manufacture in Ulster. On his arrival he saw "that the people were entirely ignorant of the mysteries relating to its manufacture." With him

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, Sept. 23, 1695, *Report on further Duty on Linen*. Cf. 2 Anne, c. 4 (Irish).

² *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, iii. 197. Wm. Molyneux to John Locke, September 26, 1696 (Locke's *Works*, ed. 1727, iii. 552).

³ Brit. Mus. Add. 28,877, f. 109, Sept. 18, 1691.

⁴ Locke's *Works*, iii. 552.

⁵ Brit. Mus. Add. 27,382, f. 8.

⁶ Cf. *Parliamentary Papers*, Oct. 21, 1692. Report on bringing 200 Protestant families from France. Warrant to the Lords Justices of Ireland, Feb. 14, ¹⁶⁹⁹/₁₇₀₀, *Irish Book (Treasury)*, v. 56. Cf. 7 and 8 Will. III.

⁷ *Treasury Papers*, 1702-7, lxxxiii. 104. 96, show the encouragement given him. Cf. lxxxvii. 39. 390 ; xcvi. 51. 411 ; Anne continued the favour shown by William. Cf. vol. ci. 18. 485.

came an industrial colony of Frenchmen, and they settled at Lisnagarvey, near Lisburn, in 1697. These brought with them their looms and other requisites, and they formed a company.¹ The machinery was valued, and each operative was assigned his share of capital in proportion to the estimate of the worth of his tools. That this was considerable may be judged from the fact that the total capital was no less a sum than £10,000. Upon this amount the State allowed interest at the rate of 8 per cent per annum as a bounty.² Crommelin himself was given £200 a year as overseer of the venture, £120 was to be shared among his three assistants, and £60 was allowed as the salary of the French Minister.³ It was the business of the assistants to inspect the cultivation of the flax and to superintend the bleaching of the linen. Trustees were created for this royal linen manufactory, but for these officials the clergy manifested no love, as they were afraid that the addition of bounties to the linen trade meant the subtraction of tithes from them.⁴ Even King writes in 1705 that "The clergy's party is most shamefully invaded, and half their tithes given away without sense or reason. Sacrilege is an ill way of improving manufactures."⁵

The grant placed at the disposal of the trustees was equally divided between Crommelin's company and the other manufacturers. William had many interviews with

¹ *Precedents and Abstracts from the Journals of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers of Ireland to the 25th of March 1737*, by James Corry, 3 (Dub. 1784).

² Cf. Brit. Mus. Add. 9719, 19. *Treasury Papers*, lxvii. 24. 372, Feb. 1, 1699, Order in Council made upon Report from the Lords Commissioners of Trade upon a proposal made by Mr. L. Crommelin. There are two copies of a petition of Mr. Crommelin, and a letter to the Lords Justices in its favour, Apr. 13, 1699. See the *Minute Book*, ix. 143, June 16, 1699.

³ *Ibid.* 4; *Journals of the House of Commons*, xiii. 299; Smiles, i. 361-362; *Treasury Papers*, lxvii. No. 24; R. Stephenson, *An Inquiry into the State and Progress of the Linen Manufacture of Ireland*.

⁴ On the trustees see *Liber Hiberniae*, vol. ii. part vii. p. 226; *Irish Book* (Treasury), v. 266, 319. By Letters Patent, Aug. 17, 1700, William constituted the chief governor or governors of Ireland and several other persons trustees for erecting a linen manufacture, allowing £1180 a year for ten years. By a further warrant of June 12, 1704, Anne appointed the same and other trustees to manage the payment of the £1180 for ten years. *Treasury Papers*, lxvii. No. 24, note the advance of the sums necessary for the subsistence of workmen and their families who should come from abroad, as well as for the persons in Ireland who should be employed.

⁵ The date of the letter is April 28, 1705 (King MSS.).

him, and the Irish Parliament also honoured him with a formal vote of thanks in 1707.¹ On the 28th of November 1711 Crommelin, however, complains that the bounty to the company had been reduced to £400 a year, and this gave "not 3 per cent interest instead of 8 per cent."² It is obvious, then, that the capital of his company had grown from the original £10,000 to over £13,000. The growth in capital was accompanied by a corresponding increase in numbers, for the seventy members now swelled to one hundred and twenty. These settlers, like the Cromwellian planters, intermarried and remained somewhat apart from their neighbours, long cherishing the hope that one day they might return to their beloved France. Crommelin had imported a thousand looms and spinning wheels from Holland. His vigorous efforts in the north kindled emulation in the south, where, however, the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford had already welcomed the Huguenots. They commanded in 1693 that "the city and liberties do provide habitations for fifty families of the French Protestants to drive a trade of linen manufacture, they bringing with them a stock of money and materials for their subsistence until flax can be sown and produced on the lands adjacent; and that the freedom of the city be given to them gratis."³ Naturally, however, the refugees gravitated to the Protestant north, preferring it to the Roman Catholic south. There were many difficulties in the way of the acclimatisation of the linen industry. The farmers were obliged to import flax seed, and this proved a costly process. Moreover, in accordance with mercantile dicta, the greater part of the linen yarn was worked up in England in order to gain the greater profit derived from the sale of the manufactured article.⁴ "I had

¹ On his importance cf. the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i. 212-214.

² *Precedents and Abstracts*, 4; cf. the *Treasury Papers*, cxx. 161, Jan. 20, 1709, Memorial of several members of the House of Commons (Ir.) to the Lord-Lieutenant, Wharton, respecting the encouragement of linen cloth in Ireland. "In the Linen Bill passed last session the word 'importer' was in the engrossment of the Bill in England inserted by mistake instead of 'exporter,' by which the intended encouragement was taken away."

³ Smiles, i. 380-381.

⁴ Cf. the *Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, cvi. 14. 17.

rather suffer anything than betray my country," writes Archbishop King. "Our not passing the Bill for the linen manufacture at our last meeting in Parliament drew on the Wool Manufacture Bill there. But the heads of such a Bill were drawn up in Parliament, sent over by the Council here to the Council in England, and there it stuck, and it was our misfortune we could neither have it or any other that was for our advantage back again; we had Bills enough to abridge our liberties, and make forfeitures and to expose our estates and lives, but not one that is of the least advantage to the kingdom.

"The linen will be complained of by England as much as the wool, for three-quarters of all the yarn of Ireland is sent into England to be wrought up there, and more this year than ever.¹ In the north linen yarn yields a greater price than it would if made up into cloth and whitened." "This transportation of yarn," Archbishop King perceived, "must be stopped before we can expect any improvement of that manufacture, and, *quaere*, Will England permit it? Shall we not have as many petitions," he drily remarks, "on that account from the linen weavers as now from the clothiers or herring fisheries; there is a Lancaster in England, as well as Yarmouth or Worcester. Therefore I see no remedy in this case but to allow us to transport nothing, and so I was told near six years ago, by a great man in the Commons, that we should be allowed to 'eat our potatoes but should not look at the sea,' though in time, perhaps," he bitterly adds, "we may be forbidden the use of them as hindering our taking off some commodities from England. If I can be taxed and bound by laws to which I am no party I shall reckon myself as much a slave as one of the Grand Seignior's mutes."²

In 1698 a most voluminous Bill—its transcripts occupied no less than fourteen skins of parchment—was introduced into the Irish House of Lords, but it fell through, for Capel had promised that all money bills should originate with the Commons. This measure pro-

¹ Cf. the *Irish House of Commons Journals*, II. i. 384; II. i. 315, 423.

² King to the Bishop of Killaloe, May 13, 1698 (King MSS.).

posed to raise £3000 or £4000 per annum from some counties, and gave no security that these large sums would not be misapplied. "It doth not yet appear," writes King, "whether Ireland be capable of much greater improvement in the linen trade than it already has. It doth not appear whether we can have any manufactured hemp at all, or of fine linen, and we have not hands enough to make spinning at twopence per diem a subsistence for the nation."

Two years before the proposal just mentioned had been passed by an English Act of Parliament, permitting Ireland to export direct to England any sorts of hemp, flax, and thread yarn, and all kinds of linen duty free, but the Colonial trade was still forbidden.¹ This, however, was partly opened in 1705, when the English Parliament allowed the exportation of coarse white and brown linen.² King feared that the Union of England with Scotland in 1707 might prove prejudicial to the commercial interests of Ireland. "The woollen manufacture was taken from us because England resolved to have it to themselves, and sure Scotland rivals us much more in our linen, and *quaere* whether they may not expect to be gratified in it; how can they fail to obtain their desires where they have a vote and we none to oppose them."³ With King every-

¹ 7 and 8 Will. III. c. 39 (Eng.); *Treasury Papers*, cix. No. 85.

² 3 and 4 Anne, c. 8 (Eng.). Cf. 6 Anne, c. 5 (Brit.). *The Groans of Ireland*, p. 23. Cf. 10 Anne, c. 19; 11 and 12 Anne, c. 9; *Treasury Papers*, c. 73, p. 261, May 16, 1704.

³ King to Mr. Annesley, Sept. 17, 1706 (King MSS.).

LINEN GOODS EXPORTED FROM IRELAND—1710 to 1714.

Year ended March 25.	Linen Cloth.		Price per yard.	Linen Yarn.	
	Yards.	Value.		Cwts.	Value.
1702	389,382				
1703	434,506				
1704	714,265				
1706	1,401,497	£58,395	10d.	7,763	£34,934
1707	1,933,045	80,543	10d.	11,536	51,914
1708	372,965	19,548	10d.	2,711	12,472
1709	1,710,654	114,043	1s. 4d.	8,976	53,859
1710	1,688,574	105,537	1s. 3d.	7,975	47,852
1711	1,254,815	78,425	1s. 3d.	7,321	43,928
1712	1,376,122	86,007	1s. 3d.	11,802	47,496
1713	1,819,816	113,738	1s. 3d.	11,802	70,815
1714	2,188,272	155,002		15,078	158,326

These figures are taken from the *Irish House of Commons Journals* and from the *Irish Custom House Books*. Cf. Newenham, *View of the Natural, Political, and Commercial*

thing hinges round the fact that the Irish Parliament was not, in view of the decision in his own case, a sovereign body.

Besides encouraging the manufacture of linen the mercantile system bestowed some measure of favour upon iron work, for this was a material England required.¹ Of course she demanded the article in a raw condition; therefore she removed the duties on bar iron unwrought, and iron slit and hammered into rods. All other iron-ware was subject to a heavy tariff.² This partial support, however, did not benefit in the long run, for the Irish, like the English in the eastern counties, cut down their trees for the purposes of smelting.³ The Irish Parliament saw the danger of this policy, and in 1703 passed an Act for encouraging the importation of iron and staves.⁴ By this measure all duties on unwrought iron, bark, hoops, staves, and timber for casks were abolished. In order to prevent complete destruction of the forests the exportation of timber was forbidden, except to England. But as the larger amount went thither, the measure naturally proved an utter failure. It was also ordained, and the precaution is as necessary now as then, that "all persons being residents within this Kingdom, and having any estate of freehold and inheritance therein, kept or employed under his, her, or their stock, to the value of ten pounds by the year; and every tenant for years, who then had eleven years of his or their terms unexpired, and who paid ten pounds by the year rent or more, should plant at such times as are therein mentioned a certain quantity of oak, fir, elm, ash, walnut, poplar, abeal, or alder."

At this time the cotton trade had attained but small dimensions in both England and Ireland. Acts of the English Parliament discouraged its growth by imposing

Circumstances of Ireland, p. 116. Cf. the *Treasury Papers*, vol. clxii. 12, p. 489, June 16, 1713; 21, 133, f. 84; *S.P., Ireland*, Anne (Record Office, London), vol. 365, June 16, 1705; vol. 363, Nov. 25, 1703.

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, June 2, 1709, petition from iron-work owners.

² *Iron Trade; England and Ireland*, p. 1 (Lond. 1785). Cf. 7 and 8 Will. c. 10, and 8 and 9 Will. c. 20.

³ There are slight references to paper in the *Parliamentary Papers*; Sept. 3, 1697, gives a report on encouraging its manufacture, and Sept. 22, 1697, mentions a petition from the paper manufacturers.

⁴ 2 Anne, c. 2 (Irish); Newenham, 153-54.

duties as high as 25 per cent on all articles of Irish workmanship made or mixed with cotton when conveyed to England.¹ An even more vigorous procedure was employed to crush the glass trade. Birr seems to have been a centre for the manufacture of the delicate Irish ware. From it Dublin was supplied with "all sorts of window and drinking glasses, and such other as are commonly in use."² The English manufactured the beer consumed in these glasses, and by excluding the import of hops into Ireland she took very good care indeed that the Irish should not be in a position to compete with her in this department.³ Another article of the table was roughly handled, for the importation of rock salt into Ireland was restricted by a measure in Anne's reign, which imposed for thirty years an additional duty of nine shillings on every ton of this commodity exported to Ireland, while no salt could be sent to Great Britain. The policy of a free breakfast table received no support whatsoever in those times.⁴ An Act passed in the reign of William confined the Greenland and Newfoundland fisheries to the charge of an exclusive company, but another Act passed in the succeeding reign permitted any of her Majesty's subjects to engage in them.⁵ So great was the jealousy of the English that in 1698 two petitions from Folkestone and Aldborough were laid upon the table of the House of Commons, wherein it was stated that the fishermen of these villages endured hardship "by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners' markets."⁶ It is startling to find that the shipping was so small in extent that Dublin had not a single ship, while Belfast and Cork owned but a few small craft, and there was not one large vessel in the whole of the kingdom.⁷ The French fleets came by stealth,

¹ 4 and 5 Will. and Mary, c. 5; 3 and 4 Anne, c. 4 (Eng.).

² Boate, *Natural History of Ireland*, p. 89, p. 87. Cf. Newenham, 104, 192.

³ Hely Hutchinson, p. 230. Cf. 9 Anne, c. 12 (Brit.).

⁴ 9 Anne, c. 23 (Brit.); 20 Anne, c. 14 (Brit.); Add. 36,914 (Brit. Mus.).

⁵ 4 and 5 Will. and Mary, c. 17 (Eng.); 1 Anne, c. 16 (Eng.).

⁶ *The English House of Commons Journals*, xxii. 178.

⁷ *An Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to a Member of the House of Commons relating to the Trade of Ireland* (Dublin, 1698).

and shipped their cargoes from unfrequented creeks. By the terms of the Navigation Laws the Irish manufacturers were required to send their provisions to England in English ships. The result was that Irish vessels practically vanished from the seas. "The conveniency of ports and harbours," remarked Swift, "which nature has bestowed so liberally upon this Kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon."¹

It is obvious that the effects of Mercantilism inflicted graver, because more immediate, injuries upon the Protestant than upon the Roman Catholic, for the latter were largely excluded from commerce.² The restrictive policy inevitably induced the Presbyterians of the northern province to migrate to America, where their descendants proved the sturdiest opponents of England in the war of American Independence. Archbishop King informs us that "many hundreds of families are gone out of this kingdom to Cape Breton this and the last years, and many more are on the wing. The reasons they give are landlords raising the land so on them that they are not able to live, the great discouragement put on Ireland by the Parliament of England, the cramping their trade, the landlords living in England, whereby the circulation of money is stopped, and there is a want of Government to protect and govern the country, and lastly, the preferring Popish tenants to them, who live more frugally and meanly than they can do, are able to give greater rents, by which means the bulk of the land of Ireland is soon like to be in the hands of the Papists." Naturally the Irish gentry, then as now chiefly Protestant, did not find their love for parliamentary Colbertism increase when they saw the Protestant tenant leave and found they must replace him by a Roman Catholic one. They felt that enhanced rentals were poor compensation for a threatened loss of ascendancy. For after the flight of the wild geese the Roman Catholics ceased to emigrate, realising with Adam Smith that man is of all kinds of luggage the most

¹ Swift, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*. Cf. Bush, *Hibernia Curiosa*, p. 46 (Dublin, 1764). Contrast Newenham, 156.

² O'Connor, *History of the Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1887).

difficult to be transported. "No Papists stir," writes King, "except young men that go abroad to be trained to arms with intention to return with the Pretender."

The exclusion of the Dissenter from all office in the State, and the crippling of his business proved in the long run of lasting injury to the country, even from the Mercantilist standpoint. For the growth of an effective population formed one of its aims. The thrifty and industrious Protestant left, and his place had to be filled by people of a less fine industrial type. Moreover, the English interest was decidedly weakened, for the growth of the northern Puritans would have strengthened its hold upon the country. William persecuted the Puritans, and his successors met them on the other side of the Atlantic, just as the troops of Louis were met at the Boyne by the Huguenots, who had been driven from France by the Revocation.

In this period of Irish history, turn where we will, we are everywhere confronted with the personality and the power of Louis XIV., so fateful for Ireland for centuries to come. William wanted to break off all the long-standing connection between France and Ireland, for the tie that formerly bound France and Scotland had been severed. Yet by a singular irony of fate in his use of the Mercantile policy he probably did more to reunite the two countries than even the sanguine dreams of Tyrconnel could conceive possible. The thesis that Louis XIV. is one of the chief creators of present-day Ireland is one supported by much evidence, not the least important testimony coming from the establishment and the dis-establishment of the linen and woollen trades respectively. The expedition of France to Ireland taught the English to survey the latter country with increasing hostility. To the fear of the Mercantilist was added the dread of the Constitutionalist, for absolutism always seemed to find an asylum in Ireland.¹ It is noteworthy that in civil troubles

¹ *The Interest of England as it stands with relation to the Trade of Ireland considered*, p. 8; *An Answer*, 1698, pp. 8, 21 (Brit. Mus. 1029, c14 (1)). For late traces of this feeling, see speeches by Lord Shelburne (*Parl. Hist.* xx, 1163) and Fox (*ib.* xxi, 1297). Cf. Carte, ii, 317-38.

the parliamentary party always secured support in Scotland, and the royalist party in Ireland. This Mercantilist fear and this Constitutionalist dread inspired the Mercantile system, and the Penal Code, and both were copies of the French system. Winchester and Galway proved apt disciples not only of Louvois, but also of Colbert. The dragonnades of the Huguenots may be paralleled, though in a minor degree, by the disciplining of the Irish Roman Catholics. The restrictions of Colbertism may be placed alongside those of English Mercantilism. It would be perhaps difficult to find a more perfect example of the influence of imitation in legislation.

It has been held by many close students of the development of French life and character that since the seventeenth century there has been, in certain respects at least, something akin to a deterioration of national fibre. But, without being unduly pessimistic about the outlook in France, or denying the wonderful recuperative powers of a virile people, when it has for a time been deprived of one of the sources of its natural vitality, one cannot but feel that Louis did his country a great disservice. England and France together have been the schoolmasters of the modern world. They taught mankind much of what it knows of literature, art, science, politics; they absorbed, adapted, and extended for modern use the teachings of Greece and Rome, but no race could be drained of a large proportion of its active middle-class citizens, characterised by intellectual alertness, and vigour of character, without being the poorer. It may well be that some of those grave problems of France, which are to-day oppressing her statesmen, anxious to promote their country's better welfare, would have been less urgent had it not been for the wanton injury inflicted on his own people by Louis XIV. when he revoked the Edict of Nantes.¹ The Revocation exercised a terribly evil influence upon France, but tended largely to

¹ Contrast the attitude of Richelieu to the Huguenots. "France," wrote the great cardinal, "needs all her sons. You tell me the Huguenots have been guilty of horrible crimes. The Courts of Law are open to you. Accuse, convict, and punish the guilty; but the quiet people who live under our institutions must not be assailed with any weapons save those of persuasion and charity, the only weapons that are effective." Compare the fine saying of Parnell: "Ireland cannot afford to lose a single Orangeman."

the good of England and Ireland. For these lands not only absorbed the refugees, half-a-million of them altogether, who in character, conduct, and energy were the fine flower of France, but learnt a salutary lesson in toleration which they at last turned to profit. The English people welcomed the exiled Huguenots, and exiled the unwelcome King. Of all the unequal exchanges ever made, surely this is the most amazing. France gave England the Huguenots and received in return James II. But the evil did not end there. This expulsion of the middle class left to France only the nobles and the peasants ; there was no intermediate class understanding and sympathising with the high and lowly alike, and in almost exactly a century came the French Revolution. The silent movements of history are greater than the catastrophes which reveal them to us. If time be the greatest of innovators its touch is so gentle that we can scarcely trace its working till some day the rough hand of man tears away the veil and shows us the work already accomplished. The persecution of the Jansenists and the Huguenots destroyed much of the best life of France, and left for the Revolution a nation unable to assimilate the new without destroying much that was valuable in the old. The aristocratic caste, who, with all their faults, contributed energy and resolution to the country, were exiled or murdered. The Church lost its influence, religion ceased to be a controlling force, and does not seem since the Revolution to have regained its position. Such is the bitter penalty France has paid and is still paying for her expulsion of the Huguenots. It is a remarkable commentary upon the law of the inheritance of character. There was no class left in France that could transmit to succeeding generations with unweakened force the qualities of courage and determination which made the French Protestants hard-working men of business, sober and patient, which induced them to accept the Reformed religion, and which made them leave their country rather than abandon their faith.

The Mercantilists thought that in every transaction

the gain of one nation meant the loss of the other. Untrue as this proposition is in the world of business it is most emphatically true in the case of the Huguenots. The loss of France meant the gain of Ireland, and probably in no way has Louis XIV. left a more permanent mark upon the latter country. The tall chimneys and the black smoke of the Ulster factories are indirectly due to the absolute monarch of Versailles. From the haughty sovereign of Paris to the sweat-begrimed artisan of Belfast seems a marked transition, and yet the folly of the one made possible the prosperity of the other. "He builded better than he knew." For when he signed the decree for the expulsion of a hundred thousand of his subjects he thereby sent many of them to Ireland, and helped to give that country some of the middle class she so sorely wanted. Of this hundred thousand, eighty thousand settled in the British Isles, though some went on to America. Between the chief and the tribesman in Ireland, between the landlord and the tenant, lay few of the middle class that formed the strength of England. Louis sent some of the missing class who powerfully contributed to build up the prosperity of Ulster. The northern province, which had received the Scots in the first Stuart plantation in the opening decade of the seventeenth century, also received the French in the closing decade of the same century in what may be called the "Bourbon plantation." The Celt, the Scot, and the Frenchman all assisted in making Ulster what it is to-day, and to this intermingling of kindred races we trace that energy and enterprise so often characteristic of such blending of blood. Many of the best men in Ulster come from the strong stock of the Huguenots, from Puritan ancestors who scorned delight and lived laborious days, doing strenuously what their hand found to do, and thus fixing a type of character which forms the greatest of national assets. In old farmhouses one may still see on the book-shelf a Genevese French Bible or New Testament of the seventeenth century : on the fly-leaf we may still trace the names of the refugees, written in ink browned by age, illegible from time and perhaps from tears. It is the frail

memorial of a race that has left an abiding mark upon the north of Ireland. The very isolation of the newcomers—a strange people in a strange land—helped to intensify their special characteristics, and so to increase the debt due from the country which eventually, to its own great gain, assimilated them in its national life.¹

The statesman Southwell and the prelate King were fully alive to the many possibilities of this immigration. As we have seen, the former tried to induce Crommelin to come from Lisburn to Kilkenny in the earnest hope that the south and west might become as industrial as the north. The latter endeavoured, with the active assistance of William, to stretch a band of plantations from Limerick to Tipperary with the intention of doing in the south what the Ulster plantation had done in the north. Had these statesmanlike designs succeeded we can see that the history of Ireland would have been utterly different. Her troubles at the present time are largely economic, and in Ireland this means that they are agrarian. If there had been manufactures in the south as there are in the north, the land question could never have become the acute question it has proved to be. For if agriculture were depressed thriving industries might have compensated for the depression, but the paucity of manufactures rendered this source of relief out of the question. There is little use in speculating upon what might have been, still we cannot forbear expressing our intense admiration for the patriotic plans of the English official and the Scots bishop. And if Ireland owes much to English official, Scots farmer, French artisan, it is to be remembered that in the crucible of history these have been fused into intimate union with the native stock, and have become *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*. It is also to be remembered that Ireland thus enriched has done much for England, and the achievements of great Irishmen who have served in camp or council, in low or

¹ Bonn, ii. p. 162. "It was just this individuality that Ireland needed. Only where it was present was Irish colonisation successful. There (*i.e.* in Ulster) a community grew up, similar in many respects to the Puritan settlements in North America; while in the remaining parts of Ireland the colonists' rule created a social organisation, which may be compared with that of the Slave States."

high estate, may well prompt England to adapt a verse of Browning's, and say

Here and there did Ireland help me :
How can I help Ireland, say ?

The answer is for the statesman of to-day and many a to-morrow, but the pages of history, written sometimes in tears, sometimes in blood, will not have been written altogether in vain, if their lessons are rightly read ; above all, if they teach that Ireland is greater than any of its parties, and has need of the truest service of all its children working whole-heartedly with a view to the common good.

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INDEX

- Abercorn, Earl of, 100
 Acre, 110, 173
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, 5
 Albemarle, Lord, 242, 329
 Alexander VIII., 36, 37
 Alma, 129
 Amsterdam, 1, 25
 Andrewes, Bp., 269
 Annaghbeg, 171
 Anne, 333, 345-7, 356, 362-3, 368, 370, 373, 404
 Annesley, 337, 364
 Antrim, Earl of, 75
 Argyll, 24, 61
 Armagh, 93-4, 147, 407
 Articles, Committee of, 340
 Athenry, 222
 Athlone, 136, 155, 164-6, 168, 178, 192, 194-211, 214, 222, 253
 Athlone, Earl of (Ginkell), 153, 171, 180, 193-6, 198, 200, 202-4, 209-13, 215, 217-18, 220-22, 224-6, 228-37, 239, 241, 310
 Attainder, Act of, 116-23, 125
 Augher, 75
 Aughrim, 155, 199, 212-20, 222, 253
 Augsburg, Peace of, 5
 Austerlitz, 161
 Avaux, 15, 56, 75, 82, 84, 88, 90-93, 101, 106, 138, 140, 149-50, 160, 313
 Aylmer, Sir George, 102

 Baker, H., Major, 94, 98-9, 105, 170
 Balbriggan, 164
 Ballinasloe, 195, 198, 210-13
 Ballougy Hill, 102
 Ballymore, 195-6, 198
 Ballyneety, 172-4, 176, 194-5, 224
 Ballyshannon, 96, 133
 Baltimore, 354
 Banagher, 194, 220
 Bandon, 82
 Bangor, 43, 133

 Bann, River, 94, 97
 Bantry, 258, 354
 Bantry Bay, 126-7
 Barberini, Card., 267
 Barillon, 14
 Barker, Gen., 190
 Barnwall, Father, 301-2
 Bavaria, John Clementine, Elector of, 20
 24
 Bayonne, 354
 Beachy Head, 45-7, 160, 162, 181
 Becket, Thomas, 269
 Beckman, Sir M., 194
 Belfast, 80, 133-4, 139, 147, 152, 254, 413, 418
 Belfast Lough, 144
 Belfort, 225
 Bellarmine, Card., 268, 308
 Bellasis, Lord, 69
 Bellasis, Sir Henry, 221
 Belleek, 75
 Belleisle, 262
 Bellew Castle, 135
 Belturbet, 74, 127, 147, 194
 Bennet's Bridge, 167
 Beresina, 73
 Berkeley, Bp., 7, 403
 Berry, Col., 128
 Berwick, Duke of, 54, 56, 101, 127, 133
 5, 147, 156-7, 159, 170, 184, 187-90
 235
 Birch, John, 130
 Birr, 413
 Birr Castle, 181
 Bismarck, Prince, 121, 357
 Blaney, Lord, 94
 Blessington, 245
 Bodin, 326, 383
 Boffin, Lord, 253
 Boisseleau, 138, 170-71, 178
 Bolingbroke, Lord, 373
 Bolton, Sir Richard, 322, 324
 Bonivert, 134-5
 Bordeaux, 262, 354, 377, 401

- Bossuet, 13
 Boulter, Abp., 403
 Bourke, U., 196
 Boyne, 44, 137, 154-162, 164-5, 169-70, 173, 176, 185, 204-5, 207, 215, 219, 265
 Boyne, Lord (Gustavus Hamilton), 72, 74-5, 83, 204-5
 Bramhall, Bp., 269, 306, 319
 Brandenburg, Elector of, 1, 25
 Brenans, 265
 Brest, 127, 186, 227, 255, 401
 Brodrick, A., 298, 340, 345, 373
 Brodrick, T., 392
 Brookhall, 102
 Browne, John, 291, 313
 Browning, Micaiah, 108
 Browning, William, 72
 Brunswick, Duke of, Ernest Augustus, 24, 37
 Brussels, 267, 405
 Buchan, 72, 76
 Bundoran, 129
 Burke, Col., 220
 Burne, Father, 266
 Burnet, Gilbert, 349
 Butler, Capt., 103
 Butler, Sir Theobald, 239-40, 349

 Cahirconlish, 168, 171, 178, 222, 224
 Caillemotte, 132, 148, 158
 Cairns, David, 77, 96
 Cambon, 132, 177
 Camisards, 191
 Canning, George, 76
 Cape Breton, 414
 Cape Clear, 256
 Capel, Sir Henry, 251, 256-7, 263, 283-5, 292-5, 297-8, 305, 307, 392, 410
 Caraffa, 17
 Carlow, 167, 180
 Carrickfergus, 43, 80, 82, 133-4, 138, 146, 151, 254-5, 257, 405
 Carrick-on-Suir, 167
 Carrigans, 101
 Cartwright, Bp., 84, 308
 Cary, E., 273
 Cashel, 180
 Castleblaney, 148
 Castleconnel, 174
 Castledermot, 167
 Castlehaven, 354
 Castlemartyr, 82, 245
 Cathcart, Allen, 72-3
 Cavan, 73, 75, 147
 Cevennes, 191, 277
 Chapelizod, 168, 405
 Charlemagne, 3
 Charlemont, 82, 92, 107, 133, 138, 147-9, 183, 253
 Charles I., 28, 60-2, 65, 121, 243, 268, 387
 Charles II., 6, 9, 22, 52, 60, 65-6, 85, 114-15, 125, 221, 236, 238-40, 243, 289, 407
 Charles II. (of Spain), 4
 Charles XII. (of Sweden), 12, 182
 Charles of Burgundy, 11, 42
 Charleton, 74
 Charleville, 71
 Charters, Municipal, 64, 66-7
 Château Gaillard, 109
 Chateau Renaud, Count of, 126-7
 Chatham, 259
 Chatham, Lord, 384
 Cherbourg, 262
 Chester, 140, 255
 Churchill, John. *See* Marlborough
 Cladyford, 97
 Claims, Court of, 117, 242, 329
 Clancarty, Lord, 75, 183
 Clarke, George, 193, 239-40
 Clarke, Robert, 72
 Clarendon, Earl of (Henry Hyde), 53, 62, 64, 67, 120
 Clifford Brig, 226-7, 233
 Clonmel, 167-8, 180, 193
 Colbert, 9, 12, 31, 39, 384, 404, 416
 Cole, Capt., 224
 Coleraine, 94, 108, 117
 Cologne, Archbishop of, 19
 Columbine, Col., 193, 205
 Comber, 71
 Commynes, Philip de, 32
 Condé, 132
 Coningsby, Thomas, 179, 193, 231, 240, 243
 Connel, Col., 209
 Conway, Daniel, 264
 Corday, Charlotte, 32
 Cork, 45, 59, 82, 180-85, 222, 232, 234, 253, 255, 257, 274, 354, 404, 413
 Corry, Capt., 72
 Cotton, 412-13
 Cox, 58-9
 Creagh, Dr., 188
 Crichton, Col., 127
 Crimea, 139
 Crockett, 360
 Crom, 73, 74, 127-8
 Crommelin, Lewis, 357-8, 407-9, 419
 Cromwell, Henry, 84
 Cromwell, Oliver, 52, 55, 100, 115, 139, 152, 214, 307, 356, 372, 376
 Crookhaven, 354
 Cullen, 174
 Culmore, 102-4, 106, 108, 253
 Cunningham, Col., 97, 99, 130, 179
 Curlew Mountains, 137

Dalton, W., 122
 Daly, Denis, 64, 190
 Dartmouth, Lord, 27
 Dauphiny, 260, 277
 Davies, Sir John, 377, 385-6
 Dayly, Denis, 253
 De Bostaquet, Capt., 135
 De Crequi, 217
 De la Forest, Marquis, 196, 224
 D'Este, Card., 33
 D'Estrées, 47
 De Suzon, 203-4, 206, 210
 De Tessé, 190, 197, 214, 223
 D'Usson, 190, 197, 221, 223, 233-5
 De Vecchiis, 267
 De Witt, 39
 Derry, 54, 66-7, 71-6, 83, 91-2, 94-7,
 100-101, 103, 105, 109-10, 117, 119-20,
 122, 126-8, 130, 133, 136, 138, 157,
 169, 173, 175, 178-9, 254, 319, 404
 Dillon, Lord, 221, 253
 Dingle, 354
 Dingle Bay, 234
 Dixie, Capt., 74, 79, 93
 Doddington, George, 353, 362, 366
 Dodwell, Henry, 119, 304
 Donaghmore, 98
 Doneraile, 245
 Donore, 158-9
 Dopping, Bp., 241-2
 Dorrington, Gen., 190, 215
 Dorset, 378-9
 Douglas, Andrew, 108
 Douglas, Gen., 153, 155-7, 164-8, 171,
 177-8, 194-5, 197
 Dover, Lord, 150
 Drogheda, 52, 134-6, 146-7, 155, 158,
 160, 163-4, 167, 407
 Drogheda, Earl of, 305
 Dromore, 94
 Dublin, city of, 66-8, 74-6, 78, 82-3,
 86, 91-2, 94, 101, 105, 109-11, 113,
 119-20, 127-9, 134, 136-9, 142, 146-7,
 160, 163, 165, 167-8, 170, 172, 174,
 179, 185, 191-2, 194, 211-12, 216,
 224-5, 231, 241, 253-4, 257-8, 264,
 285, 287, 304, 341, 354, 359-62, 372-3,
 394, 399, 400, 404-5, 413
 Dubourdieu, M., 260, 263
 Duleek, Pass of, 137, 154-6, 159
 Duncannon, 167
 Duncombe, William, 251, 257, 263, 283,
 292, 294
 Dundalk, 135, 137-9, 141, 143, 145,
 151-2, 178, 405
 Dundee, 109
 Dungannon, 74, 94, 96, 147
 Dupin, N., 406
 Duplex, 39
 Duplessis, 141

Duport, 270, 307
 Durham, 378-9
 Dutch Blue Guards, 157, 159, 177
 Echlin, Francis, 341
 Elector, Great (Frederick William), 1, 3,
 24
 Enniskillen, 54, 71-2, 74-5, 78, 94,
 96, 109, 122, 127-8, 130, 133, 136,
 147, 173
 Enniskillen Dragoons. *See* Regiments
 Eppinger, Brig., 220
 Erne, Lough, 73, 129, 147
 Evans, Sir S., 283
 Ewart, James, 72
 Explanation, Act of, 53, 114
 Eyrecourt, 222
 Eyres, J., 291
 Falkner, 272
 Farrell, Fergus, 245
 Ferdinand, Maria, 3
 Ferdinand the Catholic, 382
 Filmer, Sir Robert, 268, 270
 Finn, the river, 97
 First-fruits, 370
 Fisheries, 413
 Fitton, Alexander, 63, 223
 Fitzjames. *See* Berwick, Duke of
 Fletcher, Capt., 255
 Fleurus, 46, 160-62
 Floyd, W., 223
 Forbes, E., 363, 371
 Fox, Henry, 261
 Foyle, Lough, 103
 Foyle, River, 92, 95, 108
 Freby, Sir George, 249
 Frederick the Great, 17, 38, 213, 261
 Frederick, Prince, 197
 French Privateers, 248, 255-6, 258-61,
 278
 Frontenac, 263
 Fürstenberg, Card., Bishop of Strassburg,
 20
 Galmoy, Lord, 73-4, 129, 134, 214, 218
 Galway, 52, 71, 137, 171, 174, 185-6,
 191, 210-11, 221-2, 224, 253-4, 257,
 274, 348, 351
 Galway, Earl of (Ruvigny), 132, 194, 203,
 217, 219, 228, 242, 307-8, 329, 397,
 416
 George II., 262
 George, Elector of Hanover, 37
 Gex, 261
 Gill Abbey, 182
 Ginkell. *See* Athlone, Earl of
 Glass, 384, 413
 Godolphin, Lord, 349
 Golden Bridge, 168

- Goodman, 306
 Grace, Col., 166
 Grafton (Duke of), 183
 Granard, Lord, 62, 84
 Grattan, Henry, 328
 Greenwich, 351
 Grievances, Committee of, 248
 Griffith, Mr., 273
 Grotius, 16
 Guillam, Capt., 103
 Gun, M., 122

 Halifax, George Saville, 45
 Hamilton, Anthony, 128
 Hamilton, Gustavus. *See* Boyne, Lord
 Hamilton, Hugh, 73, 75
 Hamilton, James, 95
 Hamilton, Richard, 79, 80-2, 92-4,
 101, 106-7, 151, 156-7, 159, 214
 Harley, Robert, 351
 Havre, 262
 Hawke, Sir E., 262
 Henry VII., 382
 Herbert, 126
 Herbert, Col., 218
 Hesse Darmstadt, Prince George of, 204-5
 High Church Party, 304-5, 362-3
 Hillsborough, 80, 93, 152
 Hobbes, 269, 327, 373
 Hoche, 191
 Hogan, Galloping, 172
 Hohenstaufen, 20
 Holmes, Capt., 260
 Holt, Sir John, 249
 Hooker, 324-5
 Hopkins, Bp., 76
 Howard, Card., 22
 Howard, Lord, 167
 Huguenots, 20, 22, 246, 260, 268, 275-81,
 289, 348, 357, 377-8, 405, 409, 416-19
 Hunsden, Lord, 121-2
 Hunter, John, 104
 Hyde, Anne, 52

 Inchiquin, Lord, 257
 Indulgence, Declaration of, 10, 14, 22
 Innishannon, 405
 Innishowen, 107
 Inniskillings. *See* Regiments
 Innocent XI., 5, 16, 19-21, 23, 32, 33,
 35-6
 Innocent XII., 37
 Ireton, 172
 Irish Brigade, 150, 234
 Iron, 384, 412
 Irwin, 76

 Jackson, 269, 271
 Jacobites, English and Irish, 84-6, 100-
 101, 113, 120, 208-9, 356

 James I., 85, 113, 120, 243, 339, 386
 James II., 4, 6, 21-31, 33, 35-8, 42-53,
 58-62, 66, 69, 71, 76, 78-94, 97-8,
 100-101, 106-7, 109, 111, 113-15,
 117-18, 120, 122-7, 129, 134, 136-9,
 145-7, 149-50, 154-6, 159-61, 163, 169,
 183, 185-91, 209-10, 214, 228, 234,
 242, 263, 268-9, 271-2, 297, 313, 330,
 333, 353, 357, 386, 417
 James III., 7
 Jamestown, 137
 Jansenists, 417
 Jena, 161
 Jesus, Order of (Jesuits), 33, 268-9, 271-2,
 296, 306-7, 344, 376
 Joseph II., 38

 Keating, Edward, 119
 Keating, John, 64, 67-8, 84, 396
 Keeper Hill, 172
 Kells, 75
 Kenmare, 71, 354
 Kilcashel, 212
 Kilcullen, 167
 Kilkenny, 167, 358, 405, 419
 Killaloe, 172-3
 Killiecrankie, 129, 194
 Killingworth, Capt., 258
 King, William, Abp., 67, 202, 273-4, 308-
 10, 314, 316, 319, 322-3, 330-32,
 334-6, 339, 351-2, 359-66, 385, 396,
 398-400, 403-4, 408, 410-15, 419
 King, Sir William, 224
 Kingston, 96
 Kinsale, 57-8, 82, 150, 181, 183-5, 222,
 253, 255-7, 260, 354, 391
 Kirke, Col., 197
 Kirke, Percy, Gen., 103-4, 106-8, 127,
 130, 167, 171, 180, 194-5
 Königgrätz, 159

 La Bresse, 261
 La Hogue, 31, 47, 263
 La Melonière, 132, 164
 La Rochelle, 401, 405
 Lambay, 196
 Lanesborough, 199
 Languedoc, 260
 Lanier, Sir John, 153, 173, 193-4
 Lauzun, Antonine, Count of, 27, 55, 81,
 149-50, 154, 156, 169-70, 174, 179,
 185-6, 220
 Lavardin, Marquis, 19
 Leake, John, 103, 108
 Leary, Dermot, 264
 Leopold I., 3, 4, 6, 17-18, 21, 28, 32, 34,
 35-6, 255
 Leslie, 37, 44, 122, 271, 304, 306
 Levinge, Sir Richard, 245, 373
 Limerick, 45, 94, 155, 164, 182, 184-8,

- 192-5, 199, 208, 210-11, 220, 222-9,
232, 234, 253-4, 257, 309, 348, 360,
386, 419
- Limerick, Treaty of, 211, 229-43, 245,
249-50, 252, 283, 290, 292, 295, 298,
300, 308-9, 311, 315, 329, 344, 349,
366
- Linen, 350, 357-8, 366, 388-9, 393-4,
404-12
- Lionne, 4
- Lisburn, 80, 138, 145-7, 361, 405, 408,
419
- Lisnagarvey, 405, 408
- Lisnaska, 128
- Liverpool, 130
- Lloyd, Thomas, Col., 72, 75, 127, 137,
142, 211, 224
- Lorraine, Duke of, 3
- Loughbrickland, 93, 152
- Loughrea, 195, 220, 222
- Louis XI., 5, 11, 19, 37, 42, 375, 382
- Louis XIV., 1-13, 15-33, 35-50, 52, 58,
75, 81-2, 85, 90, 102, 109-10, 132,
136, 146, 149-51, 160-61, 169, 174, 179,
185-7, 189, 207, 210, 218, 230, 232-4,
247, 252, 261-3, 267, 271-2, 273, 275-8,
281, 289, 297, 308, 310, 327, 348, 353,
355-6, 359, 383, 386, 389, 392, 402,
407, 415-16, 418
- Louis XVI., 161
- Louis of Baden, 182
- Louth, Lord, 101
- Louvois, 39, 72, 81, 90, 131, 149-50,
186-7, 277, 416
- Lucas, 327
- Lundy, Robert, Col., 73, 78, 83, 96-8,
130, 179
- Lunn, E., 283
- Luttichan, Baron, 247
- Luttrell, Henry, 113, 188, 233
- Luttrell, Simon, 113, 119, 188
- Lynch, Sir Henry, 63
- Macarthy. *See* Mountcashel, Viscount
- MacCarmick, William, 72
- Macclesfield, 188
- Macgillicuddy, Col., 183
- MacGuire, Connor, 265
- MacHugh, Bryan, 265
- Mackay, Andrew, 135, 194-9, 203-5, 209,
213, 215-19, 225, 228
- MacKevet, Owen Gar, 265
- M'Mahon, Col., 148
- MacManus, Keadagh, 265
- MacSweeney, Murragh, 265
- Mageoghegan, 301
- Magna Carta, 109
- Maguire, Brian, 74
- Maintenon, Madame de, 20
- Malleaghill, Patrick, 264
- Mallow, 71, 180
- Malone, 349
- Malta, 98
- Marlborough, Lord, John Churchill, 7, 26,
45, 181-5
- Marshall, Chief Justice, 126
- Mary of Burgundy, 10
- Mary of Modena, 33, 49, 53, 149, 188
- Mary, Queen, 10, 31, 93, 100, 111, 122,
193-4, 207, 218, 282-3, 285, 288
- Massarene, Lord, 285
- Maumont, 81, 101
- Max Emanuel, 7
- Maxwell, Henry, 338-9
- Maxwell, Thomas, 114, 133, 188, 201,
205, 209
- Mayart, 322
- Mazarin, 7, 11, 20, 40, 275
- Medici, Cosmo de, 22
- Melfort, John Drummond, Lord, 50, 89,
91-2, 129
- Mercantile System. *See* chap. x.
- Methuen, J., 307
- Middleton, 245
- Milford, Haven, 260
- Million, H., 407
- Milton, John, 126
- Miltown, 210
- Mitchelburne, John, 105
- Mohacz, 17
- Molowny, 87
- Molyneux, William, 319, 322-8, 335-6,
339, 404, 407
- Monaghan, 127
- Monmouth, Duke of, 24, 42, 61
- Montmejan, 101
- Moore, Lord, 398
- Mordaunt, Sir J., 262
- More, M'Carthy, 133
- Moreton, Bp., 241-2, 253, 265-6
- Morlaix, 401
- Morley, Cormuck, 265
- Mount Alexander, Lord, 71
- Mountcashel, Viscount, 55, 82, 128-9, 150
- Mountjoy, Viscount (William Stewart),
72-3, 75-79, 93, 119
- Mullingar, 194-5, 198
- Munkacz, 17
- Murphy, Father, 266
- Murray, Adam, 98-101, 170
- Mutiny Act, 192
- Nagle, Sir Richard, 64, 113, 119, 144,
190, 223
- Nelson, 306
- Nantes, 401
- Nantes, Edict of, 272, 276-7, 327, 416
- Nantwich, 69
- Napoleon, 3, 38, 40, 72, 98, 110, 131,
146, 155, 199, 202, 205, 216, 355-6

- Napoleon III., 155
 Nassau, Count, 196-7, 225, 234
 Nelson, 108
 Nenagh, 193, 222
 Netterville, Lord, 102
 Newman, Cardinal, 22
 Newry, 80, 133-5, 137-8, 146, 152
 Newton-Butler, 128-9, 136, 147, 173
 Newtownlimavady, 76
 Newtownstewart, 75
 Nimeguen, Peace of, 11
 Nîmes, 277
 Nonjuror, 304-6
 Northwich, 69
 Nottingham, Earl of, 249-50, 252, 256, 283, 285, 287-90
 Nugent, Thomas, 64, 69, 114, 116

 O'Brien, Manus, 172-3
 O'Donnell, Baldearg, 175, 209-10, 221
 O'Haggerty, Friar, 80, 94
 O'Kelly, 146, 189, 220-1, 229
 O'Neal, Brian, 63
 O'Neill, Felix, 63
 O'Neill, Sir Neill, 156
 O'Neill, Owen Roe, 202
 O'Regan, Teague, 148
 O'Reilly, Col., 199
 Oldbridge, 154-5, 157-8
 Omagh, 75, 92
 Orkney, Countess of, 242, 329
 Ormonde, Duke of, 164, 167, 340, 342, 345, 353, 357, 368, 370, 372, 387, 392, 404
 Osborne, 291
 Osborne, Alexander, 93-4
 Ottobuoni. *See* Alexander VIII.

 Palatines, the, 359-62, 377
 Pamphill, Card., 267
 Parker, Capt., 158, 196, 206
 Parliament of, 1689, 109-26, 242, 298, 310; 1692-3, 242-50; 1695-8, 297-332, 392-4, 397-400; 1703-11, 340-53, 362-7, 403-4, 407, 410-12; 1713, 373-4
 Parnell, C. S., 327
 Pascal Blaise, 269
 Passive Obedience, 23
 Payzant, Mr., 239
 Pembroke, Earl of, 353, 362, 366
 Penal Laws. *See* chaps. viii. and ix.
 Pennyburn, 102
 Peterborough, Lord, 320
 Petre, Father, 23, 269
 Petty, Sir William, 388
 Phibbs, Sir Constantine, 373
 Philip II., 11
 Philip IV., 4
 Philippeaux, 47

 Philips, George, 76
 Pitt, 8, 261-2
 Platin House, 159
 Plato, 384
 Plowden, Francis, 223
 Pointis, 101
 Pontchartrain, 47
 Portarlington, 405
 Porter, Sir Charles, 63, 231, 243, 307
 Porter, Col., 33, 35
 Portglenone, 94
 Portland, Lord, 242, 329
 Port l'Orient, 262
 Port Royal, 272
 Portsmouth, 131, 182
 Portumna, 220
 Powys, Sir Thomas, 319-21
 Poynings' Law, 62, 111, 124, 249-50, 284-5, 308, 319, 325-6, 333-4, 340-2, 385
 Presbyterians, 306-7, 365-6, 371
 Privy Council, 62, 249, 265, 284-5, 292, 326, 333-4, 340-42, 344, 359, 361
 Purcell, Col., 188, 196, 233
 Purefoy, Bazill, 122
 Puritan, 99-100, 415
 Pusignan, 81, 91, 101

 Quakers, 65
 Quesnay, 259

 Ragoczy, 7
 Ramsay, Gen., 102
 Raphoe, 78
 Rapparees, 63, 180-81, 184, 191, 263-5, 302, 317, 350, 366, 373
 Rathcormock, 245
 Rawdon, Sir Arthur, 94, 173
 Rebellion (of 1641), 69-70, 114, 122, 297
 Regiments:—
 Foot—
 1st (Lord George Hamilton's), 211, 216, 219, 228
 2nd, 180, 226, 228
 4th (Trelawny's), 168, 182
 5th, 211
 7th (Lord George Hamilton's Fusiliers), 182
 8th, 182
 9th, 177, 197, 216, 219
 11th (Sir John Hamner's), 157, 180, 224
 12th (Brewer's), 133, 197, 216, 219
 13th, 182
 14th (Hales's), 182
 18th, 176-7, 180, 216
 19th (Earle's), 180, 216, 219
 20th, 219
 22nd, 219

- Foot*—(continued)
 23rd, 216, 219
 27th (Inniskillings), 158, 180, 216, 219, 228
Foot Guards—
 3rd Regiment of Grenadiers (Cutts's), 176-8, 180, 226, 228
Dragoons—
 3rd Regiment, 180, 217
 5th (Inniskillings), 134-5, 157, 219
 6th (Inniskillings), 134-5, 157, 180, 215, 219
Dragoon Guards—
 1st, 180, 219, 222
 2nd, 172, 219
 3rd, 219
 4th (Langston's), 180, 217, 5th, 224
 6th, 176, 180, 198, 217
Horse Guards (Blues), 180, 198, 217
Scots Guards, 177
Other Regiments—
 Collier's, 182
 Creighton's, 216
 Drogheda, 134, 180
 Eppinger's Dragoons, 215
 Ffoulks's, 216
 Fitzpatrick's, 182
 Herefordshire (Lisburn's), 177, 180, 200, 219
 Pembroke's Marines, 182
 Portland's Horse, 215
 St. John's, 216, 219, 228
 Torrington's Marines, 182
Regium Donum, 152, 371
 Repeal, Act of, 116, 123
 Reynell, Capt., 108
 Rice, Sir Stephen, 63-4, 66, 69, 78, 190, 349
 Richards, Col., 97
 Richelieu, Card., 7, 8, 12, 42, 45, 404
 Rinuccini, 267
 Riverstown, Lord, 190
 Rochefort, 262
 Rochester, Earl of (Lawrence Hyde), 340
 Rochfort, R., 298
 Roe, Sir Phelim, 70
 Rogers, G., 398
 Rosen, Count of, 81, 97, 101, 106-9, 134, 136-8, 141-2, 145, 149, 160-61
 Rosnaree, 156
 Rospigliosi, Card., 267
 Ross Castle, 257
 Rosset-Narrow, 167
 Russell, 46
 Ruvigny. *See* Galway, Earl of
 Ryan, Edmond, 264
 Rycat, Col., 183, 203
 Ryswick, Peace of, 257, 401
 St. Germain's, 28, 54, 78, 81, 86, 333
 St. Johnstown, 101-2
 St. Malo, 262
 St. Ruth, 189-91, 195-6, 198-200, 203-6, 209-12, 214-17, 220
 Sallywood, 168
 Salt, 413
 Sarsfield, Patrick, 129, 137, 142, 151, 156, 166, 169-70, 172-4, 180, 185, 187, 189-91, 194-5, 198, 209-10, 215, 217-18, 223-4, 227, 229-31, 233-5, 252, 310-11, 386
 Schomberg, Count, 153, 156-7, 167
 Schomberg, Frederick, 108, 130-35, 137-46, 148, 151-5, 157-8
 Schravemoer, 180-82, 194, 226, 228
 Scilly Islands, 127
 Scott, 127
 Scott, Sir E., 183-4
 Seames, John J., 361
 Sebastopol, 225
 Sedgemoor, 172
 Seignelay, 31, 39, 45, 47
 Settlement, Act of, 53, 63, 65, 69, 89, 111, 113-17, 120-22, 248, 356
 Shales, Henry, 139-40, 144, 150
 Shandon Castle, 182
 Shannon, 136, 142, 160, 165-6, 170, 172, 192-3, 196, 198, 201-2, 212, 220, 222, 226, 228, 354
 Shelden, 214, 223
 Sheppy, Viscount, 179
 Sheridan, Bp., 304
 Shore, Sir Bartholomew, 319-20
 Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, 167, 254
 Shrewsbury, Duke of, 259-60, 372-3
 Sidney, Lord, 179, 242, 244-5, 248-51, 254-5, 274, 282-4, 286-90, 305, 330
 Skelton, 403
 Slane Bridge, 155-6
 Sligo, 74, 96, 129, 137
 Smerwick, 354
 Smith, Sir Sydney, 173
 Sobieski, John, 6
 Solmes, Count of, 132-3, 153, 157, 179, 180
 Southwell, Sir Robert, 337, 346, 349-51, 358, 362-3, 419
 Southwell, Sir Thomas, 361
 Staffarda, 162
 Stafford, Doctor, 63
 Stafford, Judge, 62
 Stevens, John, 53-7, 59, 87, 123, 141-3, 146, 219
 Stewart, Col., 94, 96
 Story, 134, 166, 180, 214, 218-19, 240
 Strabane, 78, 92, 96
 Strafford, Earl of, Thomas Wentworth, 61-2, 69, 113, 116, 231, 385, 387, 404
 Strafford, Lord, 119

- Stroud, Major, 97
 Stuart, Brig., 197, 257
 Suck, The, 210-11
 Sunderland, Earl of, 62
 Sutherland, Hugh, 27
 Swift, Jonathan, 328, 351-2, 368, 370, 373, 403, 414
 Synge, Abp., 305

 Talbot, Col., 102
 Talbot, Lord, 253-4
 Talmash, Gen., 194, 203-4, 213, 221, 226, 228
 Talleyrand, 21, 191
 Tangier, 194
 Taylor, Jeremy, 269
 Teignmouth, 46, 168
 Tekeley, 6, 17
 Temple, John, 79-80
 Temple, Sir J., 249
 Temple, Sir W., 405
 Tetteau, 182, 184, 197, 203-4
 Thetford, 351
 Thurles, 194
 Tiffin, Col., 228
 Timber, 412
 Tipperary, 419
 Tolbet, 323
 Tor Bay, 25
 Tourville, Count of, 31, 45-8
 Trench, 122
 Trenchard, 329
 Trenchard, Sir J., 258-9
 Trevor, Sir Thomas, 319
 Trillick, 75
 Trim, 191
 Trinity College, 119, 254, 370-71
 Turenne, 132
 Turner, Dr., 268
 Tyrconnel, Duchess of, 160, 185, 288-9
 Tyrconnel, Duke of, Richard Talbot, 42, 49-53, 56-7, 59-62, 65-6, 68-70, 75, 77-84, 87, 89, 91, 93-4, 110-11, 120, 124, 129, 130, 136, 157, 169-71, 174, 179, 185-92, 195, 198, 206, 209-10, 221, 223-4, 242, 263, 355, 415
 Tyrone, Lord, 183
 Tyrrell, Bp., 60-61, 87, 313

 Ulster, Society of, 318-21
 Union, idea of, 324-5, 337-9, 362, 411
 Utrecht, Peace of, 7, 31

 Valentia, 354
 Van Tromp, 39
 Ventry, 354
 Versailles, 44, 160, 210, 418
 Vienna, 6, 17
 Villars, 183
 Vivarais, 277

 Waldron, H., 265
 Walker, George, 98-9, 102, 107, 158
 Ward, E., 321
 Waterford, 52, 165, 167, 170, 174, 179, 253, 274, 404, 408, 413
 Waterloo, 202
 Wattlebridge, 129
 Watts, William, 122
 Wauchope, John, 206, 222, 227, 229-30, 233-4
 Weaver, Mr., 398
 Wellington, Duke of, 30, 54, 131, 190, 193
 Westminster, Treaty of, 10
 Westphalia, Peace of, 5
 Wexford, 413
 Wharton, Earl of, 367-8
 Whitehouse, 151
 William III., 1, 3, 6-7, 10-12, 14-15, 22, 24, 26-7, 29-32, 34-6, 38-46, 48-9, 58, 61, 77, 79, 83, 85, 93, 96, 100, 107, 109, 111, 116-17, 127-8, 130-32, 138-39, 142, 147, 151-9, 161, 163-79, 181, 185-6, 189, 193, 207, 211, 218, 226, 233, 235, 246, 251-2, 254-5, 257, 261, 263, 265-6, 278, 281, 284, 287, 290, 292-3, 297, 304-5, 307-11, 313, 317-18, 323, 325, 327-9, 333, 353, 362-3, 372, 383, 389, 393, 399, 407-8, 415, 419
 William, Henry, Prince of Orange, 2
 Winchester, Marquis of, 397, 416
 Windmill Hill, 102-3, 307
 Wishart, Capt., 127
 Wolseley, 128, 147, 192, 198
 Wool trade, 321, 358, 388-404
 Wright, Serjeant, 319-20
 Würtemberg, Duke of, 151, 153, 180-82, 194, 196, 228
 Wyche, Sir Cyril, 251, 257, 263, 283, 292, 294

 Youghal, 405
 Young, Arthur, 342

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